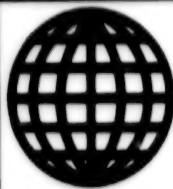


JPRS-NEA-89-036  
12 MAY 1989



**FOREIGN  
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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-89-036

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12 MAY 1989

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### Overview of Fundamentalist Trend in Maghreb Region

#### Groups Work Toward Legitimacy

45190056A Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Apr 89 p 6

[Article by Jean de la Gueriviere: "The Maghreb: From the Underground to Legality"]

[Text] In Tunisia, the "friendly country" praised in France by its Office of Tourism for its tolerance and gentle way of life, a few imams have, in their Friday sermons, approved of Iran's call for the murder of Salman Rushdie. However, on the whole, the Islamic movement has exhibited an attitude similar to that of President Ben Ali, who, while condemning "the gratuitous relentlessness toward Islam," deems the behavior of the ayatollahs unacceptable.

Two leaders of the Renaissance Party, formerly the Islamic Tendency Movement (MTI), have condemned the author of the "Satanic Verses": one, Abdelfatah Mourou, in moderate terms; the other, Rached Ghannouchi, vehemently, but neither one demanded death for the "apostate." This attitude on the part of their group, the best known in the Maghreb, reflects the majority tendency of North African Islamists: to engage in rhetoric acceptable to the government in power and reassure that part of the population sensitive to the religious word, but that fears radicalism.

Before changing names in order to be legalized (because the Constitution particularly forbids parties to refer to a religion), the Islamic Tendency Movement had already indicated its bias: "Islamism," a movement of religious inspiration, has an overall plan to transform society, even gain power, but does not necessarily identify with the fundamentalism that preaches a return to the Scriptures considered as the sole basis for action, much less "integrisme," whose interpretation of sacred texts is the most literal and the most reactionary.

As an underground activist in the past, Ghannouchi was undoubtedly the representative of the Muslim Brotherhood (FM) in Tunisia, but to continue to label him as such is as improper as the attitude of the Algerian authorities, who once designated Islamists by the two letters FM, which did more to evoke war militancy than the brotherhood which was born in Egypt. MTI activists perhaps had a hand in a military plot aimed at overthrowing former President Bourguiba by force, but Ghannouchi denies being among them.

After all, why resort to violence and terrorism, as some activists in the fundamentalist constellation have done? The Islamists are the indirect cause of the fall of the "supreme combattant": Indeed, General Ben Ali decided to remove the chief of state as soon as the latter's

determination to hang the leaders of the MTI constituted an intolerable threat of civil war, so visible was their hold over part of the population using solely peaceful means.

Ghannouchi now thinks that Ben Ali can "communicate with the Islamic awakening, rationalize it, and integrate it with all national forces." He is not explicitly asking for revision of the Personal Status Code, the most favorable to women in the Maghreb adopted under Bourguiba, but guaranteed by the new Constitution. Even official encouragement for birth control appears to be tolerated by most Tunisian Islamists.

Rejection of obscurantism is already implicitly implied in this article by Ghannouchi, published in 1974 by the journal AL MAARIFA: "The spread of universal education in the Islamic world has enabled the new generation to learn that the strength of the West resides in its technology, and the latter is within reach of all men."

While wishing to reduce "the West, which is no longer that gigantic force dominating the world without anyone understanding why," to a more modest position, the "emir" of the MTI can, if need be, recognize its merits and dialogue with it. Only a few months ago, he visited LE MONDE to thank the newspaper for emphasizing the weakness of the charges lodged against him and his friends at the time of the great trials organized by Bourguiba.

The Renaissance Party did not participate in the 2 April elections as such, but its candidates presented in "independent" lists pulled off a major victory (LE MONDE, 5 April). Long illegal, the MTI survived the repression thanks to the partitioning of its activist cells. Once legalized, it will be able to prove its following, at the same time it will have run the risk of unveiling all its men and means.

#### Algerian Effervescence

The evolution toward the legalist strategy also emerged in Algeria thanks to the political opening imposed by the events of October 1988. Until that time, Islamists had demonstrated in force at several big rallies despite the bans and through the violent action of a few desperate individuals. Resorting to force to annihilate their commandos, authorities nevertheless had the wisdom not to be too harsh at the trials.

Actually, one could measure the influence of the Islamists by the success of certain preachers and their social work: health, education, material aid, done in the shadow of the minarets. Now coming out of the closet, they reveal different visages, not all of which are sympathetic!

Even before the law on political parties was passed by the National Assembly, thousands witnessed the formation of the Islamic Salvation Front on Friday, 11 March, at the Ibn-Badis Mosque in Kouba in the suburbs of

Algiers. The Front was headed by Ali Belhadj, a fiery preacher from Bab-el-Oued, and Abbassi Madani, a sociology professor whom many Algerians view as a fundamentalist in the fullest sense of the word.

LA TRIBUNE D'OCTOBRE, published in France by those close to Ben Bella, has just proved Mdani right: "It was Islam that freed us from Rome," he says. "It is now the only compass that will free us from Western intellectual schemes (...). We are not against women working as long as their honor and religion are protected. The issue is not so much women working as it is the woman's situation at work. Why not provide her with separate means of transportation? (....) The veil protects the woman when she moves about. It protects her beauty because her feminine attributes are reserved for her husband." In the name of such principles, students launched a campaign against mixed education in the universities, going so far as to declare the university cafeteria in Annaba off limits to women.

An Algerian Association for the Emancipation of Women, formed as a result of the great Algerian turmoil, condemns behavior "standing in the way of half of the human potential" of the country. A "coordination" has risen up against "the schemes of the fundamentalists who, opposing a modern society, trample the first fruits of the November revolution." Berberists, who recently formed a Rally for Culture and Democracy (LE MONDE, 15 February), know that the event was presented in some mosques as an occasion for orgies and drinking.

The major complaint against the Berberists is their determination to bring about the revision of a family code that is far more regressive than Tunisia's legislation. It is not at all certain that the government is willing to follow them on this point. While condemning certain fundamentalist excesses, it seeks rather to channel the religious current with an Islamic League of the Da'awa, formed under the aegis of Shaykh Ahmed Sahnoun.

The latter has expressed his determination to respond "to campaigns of Westernization and Christianization," which is surprising in a country where any proselytizing is forbidden to foreign Catholics and Protestants, but he is reputedly more pragmatic than other Islamists with whom he was received by President Chadli on 10 October 1988.

The newly-formed People's Movement for Algerian Renewal presents itself as a "moderate Islamic group" opposed to the "aspergillums of intolerance" and the "new Inquisitors and outward Ku Klux Klan Islamists." If the authorities do not succeed in establishing a dominant Islamist trend, it will be in their interest to pit the different trends taking advantage of the continuing debate opened only recently in Algeria against one another.

### Moroccan Specificity

Finally, Morocco, the only country that has adopted a multiparty system in several years, is also the only one where Islamist groups have no home of their own. Different splinter groups emerged at the time of the demonstrations: Extremists, perhaps manipulated, murdered Omar Benjelloun, editor of a leftist newspaper, in 1975, but no great figure has emerged with the exception of Abdessalam Yassine, released from prison in 1986, 6 years after sending a very impertinent letter to the king: "No matter what your response may be, my dear nephew of the Prophet, you will not be able to contain the words of truth and justice that I proclaim."

Commander of the believers, Hassan II has pulled off the heady trick of jerking the rug out from under the feet of the fundamentalists, while at the same time following the boldest policy in terms of an opening to the outside. He imposed prayer in the schools, announced his great decisions after consulting a High Council of the ulemas [Muslim scholars], but in August 1985 in Casablanca, he also organized a popular welcome for Pope John Paul II, his "very holy and illustrious friend."

Because of many abuses (sanctioned, authorities claim), the collection for construction of the great mosque in Casablanca was rather counterproductive, but the idea of bringing the entire country into the undertaking was inherently good, insofar as it caught certain activists off guard in their own terrain. There has been grumbling and squabbling among recalcitrant subscribers, but as far as we know, the Islamists have not dared exploit the situation.

Will the appearance of one or several religious parties in Algeria and Tunisia give the Moroccans ideas? Ghannouchi assured us that when he was underground, he had no contact with his "brothers" in neighboring countries. Today, regimes in power praise the construction of a united Maghreb and traditional parties are engaging in dialogue ranging beyond borders. It would be surprising if this did not serve as an example for Islamists choosing political action in broad daylight. But such unification, which might give a better measure of their importance, could frighten other Maghrebians, always highly distrustful despite the enticement especially visible in Tunisia.

### Fundamentalism Under Al-Qadhdhafi

45190056b Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Apr 89 p 6

[Article by Yves Heller: "Libya: al-Qadhdhafi, the 'Heretic'"]

[Text] Colonel al-Qadhdhafi cannot abide by the norm and submit to commonly accepted rules in religion any more than he can in politics.

A staunch Muslim, the leader of the Libyan revolution is nevertheless the "pet peeve" of the religious establishment of his country, which he managed to alienate at the

end of the 1970's and with which he has been constantly jousting ever since. This little war occasionally spills over the boundaries of strict theological debate and degenerates into direct confrontation with the murder of regime supporters, the arrest or even execution of "Islamists," strict control, and even the closing of mosques or Islamic institutes.

At the heart of the discord, which official press organs have largely repeated and continue to repeat, is the colonel's "heresy": his rejection of the Sunna tradition, meaning the recital of the deeds, feats, and words of the Prophet, one of the two sources of Islamic law, along with the Koran.

#### New Calendar

The very flexible and quite personal interpretation of religion in which Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi engages in his famous "Green Book" has led the ulemas to judge the collection to be contrary to the Shari'ah (Islamic law) and compare it with "a watermelon: green on the outside and red on the inside," which accusation the Colonel denies. In his opinion, the authenticity of the Sunna is simply too uncertain for one to place blind faith in it. And the man who led a "progressive" revolution and does not conceal his Pan-Arab "nationalist" ambitions (does he not consider himself to be Al-Nasir's heir?) loves to shake tradition in order to impose his own views.

First of all, according to the colonel, Islam, although it is the official religion, must not meddle in affairs of state. Second, Islam must adapt to the times. Thus it is that Al-Qadhafi, in a straight line with the Young Turks, attacks certain "taboos" solidly rooted in Islamic society, such as those dealing with the status of women. Not only does he throw out the veil and rescue women from their "slavery," but in an act of supreme provocation, he goes so far as to enroll them in his personal guard and happily pose for photographers, surrounded by his famous "Amazons."

Nor has the calendar withstood the onslaught of "the Guide." Libya has its own, the only Arab country not to begin it with the Hegira (Muhammad's departure from Mecca for Medina, which tradition places at year 622 of the Christian era), but with the death of the Prophet in 632. His explanation: The Colonel believes the latter date to be certain, while that of the Hegira is much less so.

This series of blows to tradition could not fail to upset scholars of the law. After the honeymoon that marked the beginning of the revolution, they stopped concealing their discontent. A kind of competition then set in, often bitter, sometimes bloody. Only 2 months ago, the organs of the revolutionary committees, pillars of the regime, warned Libyan young people against attempts by the clergy to control them, advising them not to let themselves be taken in by the charm of certain preachers.

This "race" with the Islamists in which Al-Qadhafi has often contrived to assume a provocative attitude, taking certain risks in order not to leave the field open to his adversaries, is not without danger to the colonel. There can be no doubt that Islamism may now, alongside the economic difficulties Libya is experiencing, comprise one of the Guide's main reasons for concern.

#### Review of Foreign Minister's Book

45190056 Paris *LE MONDE* in French 8 Apr 89 p 6

[Review by J. de L.G. of book "L'Islamisme au Maghreb" [Islamism in the Maghreb] by Francois Burgat, Editions Karthala, 310 pp]

[Text] The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs did well to contribute to the publication of this work. As noted by the author, who is affiliated with the Institute of Research and Study of the Arab and Muslim World in Aix-en-Provence, Westerners, in order to learn about the Islamist phenomenon, too frequently rely on "those whose convictions, and sometimes status, it threatens:" political leaders emerging from newly-independent countries and national upper middle classes, all those who, "as a paradox of history adopted in the time of nationalisms part of our references, particularly secular, in order better to fight the colonialist incursion, and now hear their own sons blame them for it."

For Francois Burgat, the renewal of Islamism in the Maghreb is mainly explained by disappointments experienced after nations gained their independence. After the nationalist excitement, then the socialist illusion, it constitutes the "third stage in the decolonization rocket," and we are not yet done measuring its thrust.

Completed in 1988, this book only partially considers recent events in Algeria and Tunisia. Moreover, its purpose is an in-depth examination transcending passing events. In it one finds priceless biographies of the main leaders of Maghrebian Islamism and the transcription of their highly instructive conversations with the author.

Without concealing the action of the extremists, Burgat condemns the attitude consisting of "viewing Islamism as nothing more than the most recent Third World pathology." "Nothing today allows us to claim that this new voice from the South will provide responses any less adapted than were those in their day of protagonists now tired of the great nationalist epic," he concludes. It remains to be hoped that Islamists will exhibit for the West a concern for knowledge and understanding equal to that of which this book serves as an example.

#### Arab Monetary Fund To Finance Inter-Arab Trade

44040303 Manama *AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ* in Arabic  
5 Feb 89 p 11

[Text] The Arab Monetary Fund has established a program which will have an estimated capital of \$500 million for the purpose of financing inter-Arab trade. Methods for

implementing the program will be presented to the fund's council of directors at its yearly meeting, which will be held in April to set up the program, and the start of the program's operation will be announced.

A study prepared by the fund and published by the Gulf News Agency, states that the establishment of the program is based on a decision made by the fund's council of directors, in accordance with guidelines established by the Council of Directors of Central Banks and Monetary Institutions in the Arab States.

The study adds that the program aims to develop and stimulate inter-Arab trade through close cooperation with various existing Arab financing agencies, the mobilization of the necessary resources from all official agencies capable of playing a role in the financing of inter-Arab trade, and adherence to operational principles which provide incentives to Arab commercial banks to participate actively in the financing of inter-Arab trade.

The study indicates that the broad base of the membership of the program—which is open to all governmental and nongovernmental financing institutions in the fund's member states, as well as Arab financing institutions and joint Arab and international banking and financing institutions—will lead to the creation of an appropriate framework that will enable inter-Arab trade to receive the necessary attention and concern of all

financing agencies. This will in turn stimulate and strengthen the growth of inter-Arab trade, and enhance the competitiveness of Arab exporters.

The study states that the program will provide financing for inter-Arab trade in goods and accompanying services, with the exception of oil, and used and re-exported goods. The program will be managed by national agencies appointed by the fund's member states. These agencies will enter into agreements, contracts and loans with the program, and provide discounts or rebates on bonds resulting from the financing of qualified trade operations. They will also issue bonds on behalf of the program in exchange for financing provided to it, and perform all other functions which facilitate the activities of the program.

The Arab Monetary Fund stated that the capital of the program totals \$500 million, and that its resources are composed of loans from the financial markets, in addition to the reserves and deposits of the fund's financial institutions and financing institutions.

It is reported that the council of directors of the Arab Monetary Fund decided to allocate \$250 million as a share of the program's capital in its last meeting in April 1988. According to reports, the other organizations participating in the program will contribute the balance of the program's capital.



**Force 17 Connections With Strike Force, Popular Army Described**

44230082 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
31 Mar 89 p B5

[Article by Uri Nir]

[Text] In the past few weeks several issues sent shockwaves through the edifice of Palestinian national unity that had been forged in the territories since the beginning of the uprising. Palestinian observers and Israeli defense bodies were united in the belief that in recent weeks Palestinian leaders in the territories have been making heroic efforts to bridge differences between various political currents and to preserve national unity not merely for the sake of appearances but in order to protect the most important moving force of the intifadah [uprising]. However, differences and contradictions still exist regarding the tactics involved in the continuation of the uprising, in personal areas, and in the area of general ideology.

One question, which cropped up in recent weeks by virtue of its nature, is that of meetings and contacts with Israelis, be they political figures, representatives of the authorities, or Israeli Zionist leftists. For about 2 months numerous meetings took place between Palestinians from the territories and political figures, members of leftist parties, and government officers, meetings that were almost completely open and frank. Palestinian public leaders soon realized, especially after word came from the PLO in this connection, that such meetings were not always useful and that they could be used against the common interests of Palestinians in the territories and abroad.

In the wake of a series of internal deliberations and discussions, at the beginning of the week a declaration was published by "national figures" who announced the suspension of all meetings not based on recognition of the Palestinian people's rights and acceptance of the principles of the PLO's political platform.

The latest proclamation of the "Uprising Leadership" spoke about forbidding meetings with leaders of the civilian administration. Generally, it seemed that the internal debate on that issue was for the time being settled. However, many personalities in the territories still claim that the advantages derived from meetings with Israeli officials—which can be used to make clear that the leadership in the territories will not agree to separate from the PLO—are greater than the harm that may be caused because of the Israeli leadership's attempts to prove that it is possible to have separate talks with local leadership in the territories.

One particularly interesting issue, not just because of the "gimmick" involved, is the establishment and operation of the "Palestinian Popular Army," [PPA] and in a larger context, the issue of the strategy employed in the violent struggle against the Israeli forces in the territories. The controversies that accompanied the proclamation of the

establishment of the PPA are an indicator of the nature of disagreements within the Palestinian camp, indicative of the dynamics involved in the development of the phenomena emerging within the native soil of the intifadah, which are then adopted by the PLO leadership abroad.

The quasi-military organization of intifadah activists, which gave birth to the idea of establishing a popular army, stemmed from the territories' national unity. However, once it was adopted by a specific body of the PLO leadership abroad, a considerable bone of contention immediately came into being within the Palestinian camp, undermining unity in the ranks.

Like most of the other features of the intifadah, the PPA, too, began as a local initiative. In July and August last year young men in Nabulus and its surroundings began to appear in parades dressed in military style. At the time, no "Palestinian army" as such was mentioned. Palestinian activists said at the time that it was a quasi-military organization of violent bands belonging to "shock" or "strike" forces. The roots of those "strike forces" also preceded the outbreak of the uprising, especially in the Nabulus area.

In the summer of 1987 violent underground groups were already working toward an internal social order. They fought crime and brought pressure to bear on local collaborators with a view to banishing them from the community. In Balatah those groups used names such as the "Explosive Belt;" in the casbah they called themselves "Ninjas" or "Keepers of the Revolution." What those underground groups shared in common and what distinguished them from conventional terrorist groups in the territories was the fact that they did not clearly belong to any organization and that their violent actions focused on community targets rather than Israeli targets. Those were the basic pattern and nucleus of the subsequent "shock forces."

The quasi-military parades that began last summer still lacked real organization. They were made up of young people who identified with various organizations: Fatah supporters wearing black kufiyahs next to supporters of the "fronts" in red kufiyahs, and Hamas supporters covered in black.

It was only in September that the PLO leadership abroad decided to adopt the idea and to proclaim the establishment of the PPA as the internal arm of Force-17, under the leadership of Muhammad Natar (Abu-Tayyib). Its first manifestations began to appear already in October, together with the first signs of disagreement within the PLO on those grounds.

By the end of December, a few days before the Fatah anniversary on 1 January, the first pamphlets were circulated in the Gaza Strip signed "The PPA" and proclaiming its establishment. It is worth mentioning

that those pamphlets were written in (bad) English, a fact that probably testifies to the propaganda effect of the decision to establish the PPA.

The pamphlet formally announced that the new army was subordinated only to the high command of Force-17 and was receiving orders only from it. "The army sprang from the people and for the people and is designed to preserve security and discipline and to implement the principles of law and justice," it read, stressing that "The army is not meant to replace, but to supplement the brave mission of the 'Popular Councils' and the 'United National Leadership.'" A similar announcement was sent to news agencies in Cyprus, the media stronghold of Palestinian organizations.

The proclamation caused a storm among splinter PLO organizations, among PLO currents, and even within Fatah. Spokesmen of the Palestinian Salvation Front, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and even senior Fatah members sharply criticized the proclamation of the establishment of the Palestinian army. Each one had its own reasons for doing so: Members of organizations opposed to the PLO said that it was an attempt by the PLO to dominate the uprising in the territories, which "had demonstrated that it is stronger than the PLO leadership," according to an unidentified spokesman speaking in the name of the "Salvation Front" in Lebanon.

Members of the "fronts" were furious about the fact that the PLO had immediately and unilaterally taken the popular army into its subordination, while Fatah personalities distanced themselves from the steps of the Force-17 commander, Abu-Tayyib, who assumed command of the army, thereby trying to step into the big shoes of Khalil al-Wazir (Abu-Jihad), the head of the military arm of the PLO. Informed sources in the territories told us that many PLO officials had grave doubts about Abu-Tayyib's personality.

One week after the establishment of the PPA, the "United National Uprising Command" published Proclamation No 32, which was already couched in different terms: "The National United Leadership congratulates the masses on the birth of the PPA and stresses that this is a PLO army, the army of the blessed uprising, and that it in fact incorporates the shock forces, including all the sides, and that it takes instructions and orders from the United National Leadership. May this army and all the national arms which are included in it and contribute to its efficacy, be blessed." Force-17 was not mentioned any more. It was stated that the army was directly under the "United Leadership" and that it incorporated members of all Palestinian currents.

The reference to the popular army in Proclamation No 32 was the first and the last of its kind. Subsequently there was no further mention of the PPA. Instead, the "shock forces" were mentioned repeatedly as the executive branch of the "Uprising Leadership." The leaders of

the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP], George Habash's organization, chose to ignore the "popular army." Along this line it is interesting to compare January-February issues of the Fatah official publication *FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH* with issues of the PFLP official newspaper *AL-HADAF* of the same period. 'Arafat's paper repeatedly carried pictures and articles about the PPA, while the PFLP newspaper simply ignored the whole thing.

Even the special article devoted to the only "United Leadership" proclamation that mentioned the popular army, carried in the 22 January issue of *AL-HADAF*, made no reference to it. In contrast, *FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH* in the same week carried on its cover page a picture of a "Palestinian Army" soldier dressed in uniform saluting the Palestinian flag.

However, while PLO leaders were busy vying for prestige and feuding at personal and organizational level in that connection, personalities in the territories realized the danger inherent in the establishment of a quasi-military organization in the West Bank and Gaza. The point is that from the beginning the PPA was established as a "gimmick," as an exercise in creating an image for the purpose of keeping up the morale of the Palestinians in the territories and feeding the interest of the media abroad. That was after many other ideas had been tapped for creating images for the intifada. Precisely in this area, the establishment of a quasi-military body was apt to boomerang against the population of the territories itself.

One of the prominent Palestinian leaders in the territories explained: "Since the beginning of the uprising we have been trying to emphasize in every possible way that this was a general Palestinian action, the struggle of unarmed civilians against an army equipped with lethal means of destruction. We endeavored to stress that this was a 'white revolution.' The operation of an army in the territories would create precisely the reverse image of army against army. That is precisely what we do not need."

The proclamation of the establishment of a Palestinian army in the territories also revived the issue of using firearms in the intifada. Although the range of weaponry carried by Palestinian army "soldiers" on their parades or in the streets of the casbah was limited to a variety of steel arms (beginning with swords and daggers and down to shears and other farming implements), the PPA emblem featured a sheaf of Kalashnikov guns at the feet of an eagle with kufiyah-pattern wings and a Palestinian flag over its head. As yet no one is talking about use of firearms by the popular army, but hints along that line could be read into statements by PLO leaders.

For example, in a 21 January broadcast of the organization's radio in Damascus, it was said that "The third stage (of the Palestinian uprising) will see the operation of a national provisional government in every liberated area, and if the occupation will insist on imposing its rule, joint wide-range warfare should be staged on the



borders and use should be made of existing resources, such as the popular army, as supplementary means and resources of the mass struggle.

"This form of struggle also features elements of political struggle; however, in the long range the popular struggle does not rule out various degrees of violence. In this respect, the popular army is a complementary means of mass struggle."

It is important to stress in this connection, especially in the light of statements by PLO senior officials and various leaders in the territories, that the popular army was never intended to become a body attempting conventional military warfare. It would seem that the cautious hints of use of firearms by PPA soldiers were nothing but a rhetorical device designed to keep up this threat against Israel and to reinforce the fighting morale of the people in the territories.

In practical terms, the PPA is not a real power in the daily confrontations with the Israeli forces in the territories. It consists of local groups not coordinated by a general command system. As far as it is known, these groups are quite small, made up of a few dozen young men. They are active in a limited number of areas—particularly in Samaria—and in fact constitute an additional framework for what is known as the "shock forces."

The uniformed men come out into the streets of towns and villages only when Israeli troops are not there. We have heard of very few clashes between uniformed Palestinians and IDF [Israel Defense Force] troops.

The appearances of these young men in green military uniforms are mainly designed to impress the Palestinian population and uplift their spirits.

Some 3 weeks ago I accidentally witnessed such a public appearance of PPA men in the Nablus casbah. It was on a day when the casbah was very busy, following several days of curfew imposed after the destruction of the homes of those suspected of killing reservist Binyamin Meisner. The sight of the destroyed houses and of the heavy damage incurred by a dozen neighboring homes had created a somber atmosphere, and people were busy clearing the rubble. All of a sudden, shouts of "jaysh, jaysh" (army, army) were heard, and the people filling the alley quickly stood aside.

That is when they burst around the corner: four young men, their faces completely wrapped in kufiyahs except for narrow slits for the eyes. They were dressed in heavy olive green uniforms, boots, and each one of them carried a weapon. One of them had a loudspeaker in one hand and a club in the other. Another held a short sword, yet another an axe, and a fourth a stick. They sped toward one of the narrow streets followed by admiring looks. One of the men who stood next to me told me that they were on their way to carry out a "mission." To judge by his expression I was convinced that the mission

involved settling accounts with a local collaborator or something like that. However, it turned out that the young soldiers were on their way to paint some slogans on a neighborhood wall.

## BAHRAIN

### Foreign Policy on Palestinians Discussed

44000480C Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
16 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] Foreign Minister Shaykh Muhammad Ibn-Mubarak Al-Khalifah yesterday praised the "heroes" of the Palestinian uprising.

He was addressing the 18th session of the Islamic Foreign Ministers conference, being held in Riyadh.

Speaking on the Middle East issue, Shaykh Muhammad stressed the necessity of reaching a solution that guaranteed the Palestinians' legitimate right of freedom and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the national soil.

He praised the uprising, describing it as a heroic picture of a people whose children, men and women had joined forces in throwing stones at the Israeli soldiers who were "armed to the teeth."

"Despite the positive resolutions adopted by the National Palestinian Congress in Algeria, and Yasir 'Arafat's efforts to reach a peaceful end to the problem within the framework of an international peace conference, we find that Israel, on the other side, is procrastinating, bargaining and giving no regard to the international overwhelming support of the Palestinian issue," said Shaykh Muhammad.

On the Afghanistan issue, Shaykh Muhammad said that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was an important step on the road for Afghanistan to restore its sovereignty over its soil, exercise its right of selecting its own political and social system and find a humanitarian solution to the refugee problem.

But he said the insistence of the present regime on continuing its previous policy, which drew rejection from the Islamic and international communities, meant that the Mujahideen would continue their struggle, threatening the security of the Afghan people.

On the Iraq-Iran issue, Shaykh Muhammad expressed hope that the current negotiations would lead to the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598 as the just and honourable formula for ending the conflict.

On Lebanon, Shaykh Muhammad voiced hope that the Arab committee set up in accordance with the Arab League resolution under the chairmanship of the Kuwait's Deputy

Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah would succeed in reaching a compromise between all conflicting parties.

#### **Island Backs GCC Market**

44000480B Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
16 Mar 89 p 14

[Text] Manama: Bahrain's National Import and Export Company (Nieco) is looking forward to the creation of a GCC [Gulf Corporation Council] "common market."

The company, which imports most of the island's cement, rice and sugar, relished the challenge of competition from other Gulf states, said general manager 'Abd-al-Bari 'Abd-al-Ghaffar.

"I would like to see free movement of goods within the GCC, because it should be one market," said Mr 'Abd-al-Ghaffar.

"We in Bahrain have to prove we are able to cope with the competition and we will have access to a bigger market."

Nieco was part of a joint GCC group which signed a BD45 million deal to buy about 180,000 tonnes of rice from India and Pakistan.

Bahrain's share would be about 5,000 tonnes from each country, said Mr 'Abd-al-Ghaffar.

Nieco, one of the companies due to join Bahrain's new Stock Exchange this month, made a profit of BD1.6 million last year.

Set up in 1973, its aim was to create stable market conditions in the three basic commodities in Bahrain.

Mr 'Abd-al-Ghaffar said it had achieved the objective of balancing supply and demand, eliminating the gluts and shortages which led to sharply fluctuating prices in the past.

Nieco monitors world markets carefully and can take advantage of low prices by buying at the right time.

It supplies 95 percent of the island's bulk sugar and the first of four consignments from West Germany will arrive next month.

Sugar imports rose by 42 percent last year to 18,000 tonnes, valued at almost BD2 million.

More than 16,700 tonnes of rice valued at BD4.7 million were imported, compared with 15,500 tonnes in 1987.

Cement supplies, which reached a peak of almost 613,000 tonnes in 1984, were up by 10.8 percent last year to 421,000 tonnes, valued at BD7.5 million.

Mr 'Abd-al-Ghaffar said it looked as if the cement market was now picking up again, after dipping to 380,000 tonnes two years ago.

#### **Canadians To Explore Potential Joint Ventures**

44000480F Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
19 Mar 89 p 13

[Text] Manama: A Canadian trade mission starting a three-day visit to Bahrain today will explore potential joint ventures between the two countries.

Ten firms will be taking part in the mission, which is part of a Gulf tour. The businessmen will be based at the Regency Inter Continental Hotel.

Their products include air-sea rescue equipment, security systems and pharmaceuticals.

Members of the Canadian delegation will be having talks with Chamber of Commerce and Government officials.

#### **Island To Sign Pact on Toxic Waste**

44000480E Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
16 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by Soman Baby]

[Text] Bahrain is to sign an international agreement on the control of trans-boundary movement of hazardous wastes.

The convention to be signed in Basle, Switzerland, next week will stop among other things some developed countries' dumping their hazardous wastes in the Third World.

Health Minister Jawad al-Arayid, who is also the chairman of the Environmental Protection Committee (EPC), is expected to head Bahrain's delegation to the three-day conference, opening on Monday.

The conference is being organised by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and according to Dr Salih 'Uthman, director and regional representative of UNEP, the convention is extremely important for countries like Bahrain, where the potential for hazardous wastes has increased due to increased industrialisation.

"The proposed convention will help the countries to take effective measures to reduce the generation of hazardous wastes," said Dr 'Uthman.

"It will also oblige countries which export hazardous wastes to places where there are better facilities to process them, to comply with certain international specifications," he said.

### Vital

He said there have been complaints that some countries used to change a significant content of their shipment in transit or in the open sea.

"An international convention is, therefore, vital to regulate the movement of hazardous wastes between countries," said Dr 'Uthman.

"It will also put an end to complaints that Third World countries are being used as dumping places by the industrialised world," he said.

He said the conference would pave the way for another far-reaching international convention on climate modification.

UNEP has chosen the theme, 'Climate change—Global warming is global warning,' for this year's World Environment Day on 5 June.

The conference will study the reports prepared by an ad hoc working group of legal and technical experts set up by the UNEP executive director.

### Private Sector Industrial Projects Discussed

44040299 Manama AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ in Arabic  
8 Feb 89 p 1

[Text] His Excellency Prime Minister Khalifah Ibn-Salman Al Khalifah emphasized the importance of an exemplary and active private sector role in economic development, whether in the field of light and finishing industries or that of manufacturing industries based on small capital. His excellency added—in his meeting yesterday morning with the head of the Chamber of Commerce and a group representing Bahrain's commercial sector—that these projects enjoy outstanding governmental encouragement. His excellency made clear the importance of these industries as a significant base for the diversification of national income sources through recourse to new methods that depend on locally available resources and components. His excellency called for coordination between large governmental projects and individual projects in order to achieve integration and maximum benefit.

The Ministry of Development and Industry has prepared a number of economically beneficial projects for presentation to the private sector for the purpose of studying how they can be implemented.

His excellency the prime minister met yesterday morning for 2 and ½ hours in his office in the Council of Ministers building with a group of representatives from Bahrain's commercial sector. Participants in the meeting included the head of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Bahrain, Qasim Fakhru; the ministers of development and industry, commerce, agriculture, finance, and national economy; as well as deputies of the

ministries of finance, commerce, and agriculture; and a number of officials from pertinent ministries. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss conditions in Bahrain's industrial and commercial market, and ways to encourage, develop and support these two sectors.

His excellency discussed with participants in the meeting, problems and obstacles which impede the strong participation of the private sector in these areas. He also listened to ideas presented by participants regarding these topics, and he issued directives to the ministers regarding the surmounting of all impediments to preparing and providing cadres, skills, and technical advice which can assist the private sector in creating new fields of investment and establishing national projects. His excellency added that the government is continually reviewing and studying any obstacles which delay business transactions in order to eliminate them.

In a related development, Yusuf Ahmad al-Shirawi, the minister of development and industry and the deputy minister of state for the affairs of the Council of Ministers, stated that the Ministry of Development has prepared a group of carefully studied economically beneficial projects to present to the private sector for discussion and study regarding how they can be implemented. At the same time, the minister of Commerce and Agriculture, Habib Ahmad Qasim, stated that there are many low-cost projects, which guarantee the economic stability of the country's commercial market, and which can be implemented by individuals.

For their part, the businessmen raised a number of points during the meeting, which pertained to the need to review certain rules and regulations currently in effect. At the conclusion of the meeting, it was decided that the minister of Commerce and Agriculture would study what could be implemented in the field of light industries in cooperation with the pertinent ministers and businessmen.

The meeting was also attended by Muhammad Ibrahim al-Mutawwa', the general director of the Office of the Prime Minister, and 'Ali Muhammad al-'Arid, the director of the Information Administration, which is subordinate to the Office of the Prime Minister.

### Businessmen To Attend Korean Trade Show

44000480d Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
19 Mar 89 p 13

[Text] Manama: Up to 40 Bahrain businessmen will be visiting a major trade show in Dubai later this month.

They will be going to the Korea Trade Exhibition '89 in a group organised by the island's Korea Trade Centre.

Centre director Yung-Burm Choi said 27 Bahrain firms had already confirmed their attendance and another 12 were considering joining the party.



Their products ranged from electrical goods and furniture to car parts and industrial machinery, said Mr Choi.

### **Power Supply Capacity Reported**

44000480A Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
18 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] Bahrain has enough electricity production capacity to cope with demand until 1992.

Meanwhile the production capacity will cope with increased demand this summer, expected to reach a maximum of 700 megawatts, according to Director of Electricity, 'Abdallah Jum'a.

He said maintenance at Sitra and Rifa' stations was scheduled to finish by the end of next month.

Mr Jum'a said demand for electricity would increase from May.

"The capacity of available electricity is 900 megawatts and the extra of this capacity will cover the demand until 1992."

## **EGYPT**

### **Commentator Favors Establishment of Nasirist Press**

45040252A Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic  
3 Mar 89 p 26

[Article by 'Abdallah Imam: "Why Don't the Nasirists Have Their Own Independent Press?"]

[Text] Through the communist parties or opportunist alliances, all the political forces in Egypt find pulpits to spread their ideas, defend their opinion, and present their viewpoint—sometimes in criticism of other forces, or even defamation of them. How many lies they publish! How much poison they spread!

The Nasirist forces stand alone in the field with no pulpit from which to face the public and oppose the stream of lies, accusations, and falsehoods that these forces (or some of them) level against the July Revolution and its leader, Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir.

Enemies of the July Revolution control most opinion columns in the national press. They attack the revolution and its leader with the same zeal with which they once defended them. Some of them attribute to themselves acts of heroism that never occurred, weaving false stories around themselves: Some of them were tortured, some were fired, and some were transferred!

They find no one to refute their lies. No one exposes the treason of some of them and the corrupt behavior of others. No one reveals the real nature of their hypocrisy. No one publishes their odes and half-baked eulogies of the age they have been incited (or have rushed) to attack

in desperate attempts to bring down the entire temple on the heads of those within it. An entire generation is at a loss between what it is reading and what it used to read by these very same pens. Many do not know that these people have turned journalism into a mere profession and the word into a business. They were the ones who praised the king and then attacked him; they praised Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and then attacked him; they praised al-Sadat and then attacked him. They stripped the word of its honor and offered it for sale to whoever would buy, whether disguised under a hat, a kaffiyeh, or a beard grown as part of the equipment of deception and swindling. You find people who think confronting [the revolution] was based on a summit meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan and that Egypt has moved on. The newspapers publish this prattle and display it in thrilling headlines. The daily newspapers find no room to confront this foolishness, either intentionally, or because some of their senior writers have turned from revolution [thawrah] to wealth [tharwah]. Perhaps, the newspapers have more important issues than removing this blemish from Egypt's radiant brow. We, however, are still proud of it. As we face the entire world, we are embarrassed to have the radiant brow of Egypt made a target for confrontation from abroad and in the Arabic press. We are unable to answer frankly the questions of the world around us concerning the motives of this vicious, immoral, lying, and malicious attack on the brightest pages of our history and our purest and sincerest hero. Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir was a world leader and a national hero. The unjust and lying attack on him provokes the feelings of all the Arab masses.

The Nasirist forces are the ones qualified to confront this falseness and foolishness and bring out the facts about many issues of the national struggle that these pens have distorted in a broad brainwashing operation aimed at dishonoring Arabs, destroying their morale, trifling with their history, and blackening their glories. This operation has become so insolent that it has often gone so far as to slander the values, heritage, and ethics of the people.

These Nasirist forces surging in Egypt and the entire Arab world are alone in lacking an expressive voice that would go forth from Egypt to confront this suspicious foolishness, set facts in the place of lies, and advocate this thought that is encountering a large-scale war.

War is not being waged against Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, who passed away nearly 20 years ago. It is the thought, achievement, example, and experiment that they want to besiege and strike down. But these things have not surrendered, despite the slanders. The High Dam has remained a symbol of good, devotion, and liberation. The public sector continues to exist. The gains of socialism all remain, despite attempts to destroy them, strike at them, and finish them off.

The Nasirists demand an independent press of their own. They are a fundamental and principal force among Egyptian political forces and take their stand among opposition ranks on intellectual and ideological premises that are fixed, separate, and distinct.

Egypt contains many officially unrecognized tendencies that have many complex pulpits of their own from which they spread their poisons and obscenities. Rather than summoning "with wisdom and good admonition" [Koran 16:125], they employ abuse and insults. They fabricate rumors; then they attack them, as if they were facts, or discuss them in a style in which the language of debate sinks to the depths. This makes us feel that young people are to some extent excused if they grab a bomb or a gun or use chains.

If the language of summoning is at such a low level among adults, how can we ask young people, with their ardor, zeal, impetuosity, and inexperience to adhere to the method of dialogue, when they see how their elders have blackened pages with disfigurement of everything and low-level attacks on anyone who opposes them, whether politician, writer, artist, or even religious scholar?

We have the right to ask, along with the millions everywhere, why the Nasirists in Egypt stand alone in being deprived of the right to reply, express themselves, publish the truth, uncover the falsehoods, and confront the forgers, pretenders, and hirelings. Why are the Nasirists alone deprived of their own independent press based on this thinking?

Why are the Nasirists alone deprived of their own press that would defend the public sector, free education, and the rights of workers and peasants?

Why are the Nasirists alone deprived of their own press that would show Egypt's face of Arab unity and confront the enemies of Arabism. (After all these years, they still talk about the Yemen war as if it were a mistake and sin. They publish how Egypt intervened in Yemen; they do not publish that Egypt sent a limited army to support the people's revolution, while others turned the revolution into a war.)

Why are the Nasirists alone deprived of their own independent press, while full freedom is granted to their enemies? Yes, the Nasirist tendency is an opposition tendency. But the entire opposition has the right of expression!

Yes, the Nasirist tendency has no legitimate party. However, we see those who have no legitimate parties in possession of numerous and varied newspaper pulpits, weekly and monthly.

If the National Democratic Party says that it is the heir of the July Revolution and the trustee of its principles, why does it allow only enemies of the revolution to have daily, weekly, and monthly newspapers, and prevent the Nasirists from having a pulpit, a tool of expression, and a means of communication, dialogue, and confrontation?

It is unacceptable for the Nasirists not to have a single newspaper to publish their thought and opinion and to confront those who want to drag society back dozens or hundreds of years and erase from the pages of history the Egyptian people's most glorious acts of heroism.

Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, the leader of the revolution, was a human being who could be right and could be wrong. He spent 18 years leading battles against forces at home and abroad that lay in wait for Egypt's security, stability, safety, and independence. With the entire people, he embarked on wars and battles. Victorious or defeated, he remained proud, rejecting bargaining or bending, confronting all enemies of progress, whatever their positions. His hostility was toward reaction, colonialism, backwardness, and dependence.

How many claims and lies face us every day, requiring a stance to defend Egypt's honor and history and the reputation of its leaders, as well as the honor of the word, which now has its markets and middlemen!

How many battles we must enter on the side of the people, against the forces of backwardness and reaction!

We want a Nasirist press so that we may confront, correct, and publish.

No one in the entire world denies that there is a Nasirist tendency in Egypt. Many differ in estimating its size; but it exists and influences the political scene, even when it cannot obtain the legitimacy of the existence of a party of its own.

We say that it is the predominant tendency in Egypt and throughout the Arab homeland. Its land is Egypt, which gave birth to the immortal leader.

This tendency has the right to express itself—to be right and to make mistakes. No one will challenge its having this right in a society with a plurality of opinions and pulpits. Only the Nasirists have their mouths muzzled, their tongues imprisoned, and their pens broken. In a society where opinions sometimes disagree and sometimes agree, bayonets are pointed at them.

We have one insistent and urgent demand now. We want our own press, independent from all the parties and alliances—a press that will enter all our battles from inside the country, never from outside it.

## ISRAEL

### Palestinians Assess Elections in Territories

**Fatah Adherent Gives Views**  
44000478 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST  
in English 14 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by As'ad al-Shiftawi]

[Text] The following was written by As'ad al-Shiftawi, a Gaza school principal and a Fatah adherent. He served six months' administrative detention in Qetzi'ot last

year. On Tuesday, he presented an expanded version of this paper to CO Southern Command, Brig Gen Yitzhak Mordekhay, during a meeting with a dozen other Gaza principal activists and dignitaries.

Since the Arab regimes have abandoned the military option as a means to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict, Israel is refusing to open its eyes to see the facts on the grounds.

The peace the Palestinian people are looking for is different from Shamir's ideas of imposing his views and solutions on our people by force. Even after the outbreak of the uprising and the changed political and social balance, Shamir keeps on repeating the same rejected ideas of his leader, Begin, as if nothing in the region has changed.

The Israeli military establishment announced that only a political solution can put an end to the uprising. Ten thousand have been imprisoned, a similar number wounded, hundreds killed; dozens of homes were demolished, besides the complete destruction of the economy in the territories.

The PLO has changed its political positions and come up with a peace initiative.

All these things could not make Shamir understand the new facts in the conflict arena. In his way of thinking, he cannot create new ideas to fit into the new circumstances. He is still playing the Camp David melody which our people rejected from the moment of its creation.

In the midst of Israel's media offensive over the so-called "Shamir proposals," with the efforts to replace our flag with a forged one, and despite the magnified polishing and filtration campaign of Shamir's futile election idea, there is a need to emphasize the following facts:

The Palestinian people has nothing but one alternative, the peace alternative. The peace we propose is not a matter of tactics or a bid for a limited time. It is the permanent strategy of a people deprived of peace for more than 70 years.

The Palestinian people is an indivisible entity, without distinction between those outside the country and those living in it. The solution we call for, the rights we long for and the identity which we want to bear—we desire to have for all the Palestinians without exception.

Choosing our leadership is a right of all the members of our people. We will not accept in this matter any instruction or advice from anyone. Our people inside and outside the territories has paid the price of the real meaning of its unified devotion to the PLO.

Our affirmation that the PLO is our sole legitimate representative does not cancel our role inside [the territories]. On the contrary, we are the pioneers on the front line of the confrontation with the occupation. We have sacrificed many martyrs to emphasize the legitimacy of the PLO as our sole representative.

On the basis of our unity, we are ready to carry out any role which our leadership outside will give us, as high as the price may be.

If Israel is really looking for peace, and if she wants us to have an active role in the peace process, she must stop preventing public figures from travelling abroad. On the contrary, she should grant them all the opportunities to travel in order to increase the continuous coordination between the people inside and outside [the territories] and crystallize operational ideas which may push forward the peace process.

We would have no objection to elections in the territories, if they are one among several steps within a comprehensive scenario for a peace process, if they are approved by the PLO and Israel, and carried out under international supervision which will provide the conditions for free and fair elections.

We understand the nature of the deep-rooted Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the mutual suspicions that have accompanied it. As far as we are concerned with any opportunity to reach a real peace, we are ready to accept a solution to be reached in stages, step by step, on condition that the comprehensive plan, from the first step to the last one, is clear to both nations, and executed within an agreed and limited time-table.

We do not exclude the possibility that the Palestinians in the territories would take several of the preliminary steps of the plan—after the PLO's approval.

The idea of a confederation with Jordan is not any more a major dispute among our people. We, however, object to it being imposed upon us by force without the free choice of the two peoples, who have been maintaining an extraordinary relationship.

Out of my commitment to the organization's framework, I would like to stress that these are my personal views; I have not had the opportunity to discuss them with anyone.

I am ready, however, to withdraw from this position in the face of a nationwide contradictory consensus.

#### **Mixed Reception by Locals**

44000478 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST  
in English 14 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by Joel Greenberg]

[Text] Despite their resounding official rejection of Prime Minister Shamir's proposal for elections in the territories, Palestinians have actually given the idea of a mixed reception.



On the declarative level, the Shamir plan was condemned as a new edition of the Camp David accords, already rejected by the Palestinians. A range of arguments were marshalled to show that "elections under occupation" are unworkable and inimical to Palestinian national demands:

- Such elections, it was said, are designed to produce an alternative leadership to the PLO, and drive a wedge between Palestinians inside the territories and their brothers abroad.
- The election idea is a gimmick designed to relieve pressure on Israel, buy time, and divert international attention from the truly important matter of convening an international conference where talks could be held with the PLO on an end to Israeli occupation and the establishment of a Palestinian state.
- Elections under Israeli rule could not, by definition, be "free" and democratic," as Prime Minister Shamir described them. They should only be held after an Israeli withdrawal, with international supervision.

So much for the public statements. Privately, local supporters of the mainstream Fatah movement in the PLO have counseled a more positive response, to avoid appearing intransigent and jeopardizing the newly-begun dialogue between the PLO and the U.S. administration, which backs the election idea.

These Palestinian spokesmen say they could accept elections as a phase in a predetermined diplomatic process, agreed upon in advance with the PLO, leading to an international conference, Israeli withdrawal and Palestinian independence. The process they envisage would include a timetable for every phase.

These Palestinians are willing to talk about elections, but want answers to such questions as what international supervision will be given to the balloting, whether the elections will be municipal or political, and whether residents of East Jerusalem can participate.

Proponents of a non-negative response to the election idea argue that discussing it with the Americans could bring positive results. Held under the proper conditions, elections could help secure American and international guarantees for a political process involving the PLO and leading toward independence.

Palestinians were faced this week with a new reality of U.S.-Israeli coordination on the election issue, after more than a year of discord between Washington and Jerusalem over Israel's handling of the uprising in the territories. This new policy coordination has put the ball back in the Palestinian court, prompting some Palestinians to think about turning the elections to their own benefit, rather than battering their heads against the wall of American-Israeli consensus, and risking a rupture in their dialogue with the U.S.

The task ahead of the U.S. administration is to bridge the gap between the still rudimentary Israeli proposals and Palestinian demands. Acting as a mediator in an indirect Israeli-PLO dialogue, the administration will try to flesh out Shamir's ideas, while providing assurances to each party that their requirements are being met.

This means guarantees to Shamir that the elections and the resulting interim arrangements will not mean talks with the PLO. It will mean assurances to the Palestinians that such arrangements will be linked to a second phase of talks on a final settlement, in which the PLO will be involved. Careful diplomatic phraseology will be needed here, full of constructive ambiguity, which will enable each side to say that it has not forfeited its fundamental demands.

#### **Israel: Public Sector Agreement on 5-Day Work Week**

TA3004094989 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 30 Apr 89 p 8

[Report by Jeff Black and Judy Maltz]

[Excerpt] The civil service is now ready to move over to a five-day work week, following Friday's accord between the Histadrut and Treasury which finalized the details for the transition.

Re'uven Ben-Ami, general-secretary of the Civil Servants' Union, who was a signatory to the agreement, said he was very satisfied with the final arrangements. He said that in theory each individual office could begin its shorter working week from today, although Treasury wages chief Ya'akov Danon said he thought it would take a few weeks until all details concerning the move were ironed out.

Under the accord, working mothers will be able to leave work at least 30 minutes before the end of the regular 4 p.m. finish to the working day in order to pick up their children from day-care centres, but they will have to make up this time in other ways. Civil servants who have to work a duty shift on Friday will receive a one-day holiday the next week in lieu, or an overtime payment of 125 percent for every hour worked on a Friday. The calculation of cumulative holiday pay will not be affected by the switch to a shorter working week.

The transition, however, will not apply for the time being to workers in essential services like health and education, according to a resolution passed by the Economic and Social Council, which also met Friday.

The Council, made up of representatives of the government, employers' organization, and Histadrut, also agreed to set up a special advisory board which will determine whether and how the five-day work week should apply to services like customs, public transport and banking. [passage omitted]

[Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew on 30 April, in a report by Gad Li'or on the accord on page 1, adds:

**a. Already on a 5-day work week:**

Military industries, some of the universities, most of the local authorities, Histadrut companies, industry, Foreign Ministry employees working abroad, unprofitable institutions.

**b. Those transferring to 5-day work week in coming days:**

Some 20,000 government workers in the Treasury (except customs and income tax), the ministries of interior, immigrant absorption, construction and housing, transportation, agriculture, industry and trade, tourism, religious affairs, ecology and environmental protection, science and development, the Prime Minister's office.

**c. Will transfer, but not immediately:**

Customs, income tax, national insurance, Justice Ministry, Foreign Ministry, and institutions for the elderly in the Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs.

**d. Will not transfer in the immediate future:**

The defense establishment, IDF [Israel Defense Forces], police, prisons' authority, the education system, the health system, and institutions for the elderly and needy in the Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs.]

## KUWAIT

### **Economic Crisis Attributed to Indecision**

44000479 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English  
3 Apr 89 p 1

[Article by Khalid Ahmad]

[Text] The chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Saqr said yesterday that Kuwait's economic crisis could not be solved earlier due to the lack of a political decision, not because serious studies or objective solution were unavailable.

He said, for example, in 1982 a comprehensive solution to the Suq al-Manakh crisis was presented but it was ditched due to the short-sightedness of some people with vested interests. There was also a lack of decision on the part of government.

Al-Saqr announced today that the chamber has formed a number of teams to study the problems in the finance, real estate, construction, industry and commerce sectors.

He added, after making detailed studies, the teams will propose solutions to these problems and will seek the opinions from businessmen and officials in each sector.

He said, after receiving the studies from these teams, the chamber will prepare one comprehensive report, which will be submitted to the higher state authorities.

Al-Saqr was addressing the opening session of the 27th general assembly meeting of the chamber.

He said that the invitation by HH the Crown Prince and Prime Minister to a number of businessmen and economic activists last month to study the economic situation in Kuwait, gave a good thrust to official and private moves towards an "objective and democratic solution to our economic problems."

## Efforts

Al-Saqr said efforts by the chamber and other proposals to solve the economic crisis in the country, were foiled in February 84, February 85 and August 85.

He said: "These series of failures created a state of mistrust and resulted in the lack of desire to solve the crisis in the first instance and in the ability to carry out such a solution."

Al-Saqr added, under such circumstances, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry has nothing but one alternative: to continue performing its duties towards the country and its members and also continue expressing the views of the country's private sector in the framework of the national economic interests. He added that the chamber will continue to submit its views and advice, but the decision and implementation will remain the concern of the government.

Al-Saqr thanked the government for asking the opinion of the chamber, but added that this should be linked to a total cooperation and concern from the various concerned ministers and with a clear decision which must be implemented.

He added: "We are convinced that if the government approves the well studied plans, based upon facts and figures, the wheel of the national economy will be put on the track once again."

## QATAR

### **Industrial Development To Diversify Income Sources**

44040266 Manama SADA AL-USBU'in Arabic  
21 Feb 89 pp 14-16

[Text] Tomorrow, the sister state of Qatar will celebrate the commemoration of the 17th year in power of His Excellency Shaykh Khalifah Ibn-Hamad Al Thani. On this day, the main features of the procession of achievements and progress under the auspices of the rightly guided rule of His Excellency, the Emir of Qatar, will be reviewed.

Development and economic plans in the state of Qatar have been guided by the correct directives of His Excellency Shaykh Khalifah Ibn-Hamad Al Thani, the Amir of the country, inasmuch as these plans have promoted an ambitious slogan aimed at attaining a balanced economy through the selection of industry as an entryway to the establishment of a solid production base, numerous oil industries and high-output basic industrial projects that can survive, grow and compete in foreign markets.

His Excellency the Emir of Qatar, outlines the targeted goals of Qatar's industrialization policy as follows:

In our view, industrialization projects are important and represent the cornerstone of our country's edifice. We have entered upon a course of industrialization, and have established industrialization programs, because we do not wish to expose ourselves to economic dangers in the future. Perhaps the most important guarantee in this respect is the effort to diversify our national income sources by establishing a strong industrial base. By its nature, such a base will lessen our dependence on oil gradually.

By virtue of the tireless efforts exerted by the state to achieve a balanced economy and to diversify national income sources, the carefully laid plans and programs implemented by state agencies overseeing the development of the industrial sector have attained numerous stages and levels in the development of basic industrial components, as represented by the implementation of a far-reaching series of industrial legislation, financial support incentives, duties exemptions and the provision of infrastructure services for the construction of numerous industrial complexes and areas equipped with all the necessary prerequisites and services. The premier industrial areas in Qatar are represented by three integrated complexes, two of which are located in the Musay'id area. The first of these complexes is devoted to heavy industries, and the second is devoted to medium industries. A third area for light industries, located west of the city of al-Dohah on the Salwa road, includes most of the industrial projects pertaining to the private sector.

Representing a huge industrial arsenal, the Musay'id area is Qatar's most important industrial zone. It includes the heavy industries, and the iron and steel, petrochemicals, and natural gas liquefaction complexes. As for the other industrial complexes, they enjoy many government support incentives, which encourage the private sector to invest and participate in the establishment and operation of numerous light consumer industries. Such light industries generate economic returns that assure a reduction in the bill for imported goods.

#### **National Industries**

**Refinement of oil:** The current refinement capacity of Qatar's three refineries totals 562,000 b/d, including 50,000 b/d produced at the refinery at Musay'id, which began operating at the start of 1984.

These refineries fulfill local needs, whereas a large surplus of refined products is exported to world markets. Thus, Qatar has achieved self-sufficiency regarding its need for refined products in the foreseeable future. It should be noted that local consumption of refined products currently totals about 12,000 b/d.

Achievements in the area of refinement were highlighted by a substantial increase in the production of the National Oil Distribution Company (NODCO) during 1988, when the refinery produced 12.1 million barrels of different high-quality oil products, which is a 15 percent increase in capacity compared to previous production averages. This increase is intended to supply the growing need for local products in order to implement export contracts concluded with the General Qatari Oil Organization, and to form a strategic reserve, which will be sufficient for the local consumption of oil products for a period in excess of almost two months. During 1988, NODCO's sales increased by 18 percent, compared to last year, to total 650.0 million riyals. During the same period, NODCO exported 7.6 billion barrels of oil products.

Exemplary development and production projects supervised by the General Qatari Oil Organization include the laying of two oil pipelines, which link the [NODCO] refinery to oil piers at the port of Musay'id. One of the pipelines is [for] white [?—bayda'] products and local distribution, and the other is for the export of surplus products exceeding the needs of the local market. The amount of exported refined products is expected to double once these two pipelines are fully on-line.

Regarding chemical fertilizers, the Qatar Fertilizer Company (QAFCO) is continuing its excellent performance of last year regarding the production of ammonia and urea, having achieved a production record which greatly surpassed projected capacity. While the volume of ammonia sales in 1987 increased to record levels, urea sales in the same year declined by close to 100,000 tons due to the decline in urea prices on world markets. Consequently, the company undertook extensive efforts to control production and decrease costs in order to cope with expected losses resulting from the decline in prices.

The Qatar Iron and Steel Company (QASCO) was able to maintain its production performance level. It experienced only minor fluctuations in 1988, during which its production of porous [asfanji] iron declined by only 1 percent, while that of steel ingots [katal] declined by almost 3 percent, and that of reinforcement bars increased by 2 percent.

QASCO, with a production capacity of 153 percent in 1988, up from 100 percent in 1987, is still operating at an effective production capacity far in excess of its projected production capacity.

QASCO is well-known worldwide for its efficient operation and utilization of projected energy. In 1988, the company saw its volume of sales of reinforcement bars



increase by 1.4 percent, although the value of these sales declined by 1.7 percent. In the same year, QASCO's sales of reinforcement bars in local markets increased significantly by 22 percent, while the quantity of bars which it exported remained at previous averages without any appreciable increase.

Regarding the Qatar Petrochemical Company, its ethylene production, the highest percentage since the company began operations, totalled 262,687 metric tons, which is 93.8 percent of projected capacity.

The company's production of polyethylene totalled 173,891 tons, i.e. 124 percent of projected capacity, while sulfur production set a record at the plant, totalling 48,211 tons, i.e. 104.8 percent of projected capacity.

In this connection, production last year recorded high percentages of projected capacity, making last year an outstanding year compared to previous years.

The General Qatari Oil Organization supervises the operation of two natural gas liquids plants at Musay'id. Production averages at this enormous complex, which began operating in 1981, have gradually increased in relation to projected capacity to total 2,370 tons of propane daily, 1,750 tons of butane, 1,750 tons of condensates, and 2,495 tons of ethane-rich gas.

On another level, Qatar's oldest industry, its cement industry, has become distinguished by its widespread reputation for excellent production specifications. The Qatar National Cement Company has achieved extensive accomplishments, especially regarding the expansion of production. It currently manages three plants, which produce regular, Portland and salt-resistant cement, compared to one plant in 1969, when production started. In 1988, the production capacity of the company's three furnaces totalled about 330 tons of cement of all types.

#### Light Industry

In addition to the previous structural industries, Qatar, in cooperation with the private sector, has established an extensive chain of medium and light industries, including industries for the manufacture of organic fertilizer, pure lime [jir hayy], cleaning agents, cardboard, paint, clothing, paper and plastic, dairy and dairy products, home furnishings, glass, and electrical appliances. The most important industry is the flour mills, whose annual capacity totals 30,000 tons of flour, semolina and bran. There is also an organic fertilizer plant, which provides 70 tons of fertilizer per day to improve agriculture.

The Paper and Plastic Plants Company, which is in the private sector, specializes in supplying the country's paper and plastic needs for packaging and bottling. There are 22 plastic plants, and more than 20 paper plants.

The Qatari Cleaning Agents Company, a private sector company, is responsible for supplying the local need for high-quality cleaning agents. Its annual production totals around 9,000 tons of liquid cleaning agents.

#### New Projects

The industrial organizations supervising the development of national industry have granted many licenses, including about 15 licenses in 1988 for the establishment of different industrial projects which pertain to the manufacture of plastic cups, oil- and water-based paint, heat and sound resistant [azil] glass, numerous electrical appliances, engine and lubricating oils and home furnishings.

There are studies regarding the possibility of establishing a new industrial zone in the northern Qatar, which would specialize in heavy industry. Other studies pertain to the manufacture of cheese [?—jubn] plaster [of Paris?], whose raw material is abundantly available and suitable for exploitation.

#### Gulf Industrial Cooperation

The tireless joint efforts made by the GCC [Gulf Corporation Council] states since the establishment of the council in 1981 until now have contributed to the attainment of numerous levels of economic integration between the GCC states, which have crystallized an ambitious formula for industrial cooperation, since this is the most important area [band] of cooperation due to the fact that the industrial production sector is that sector most capable of sustaining the economic structure and absorbing new manpower in the member states.

Based on the friendly and common desire of the GCC states for successful economic cooperation in a phased and balanced manner, the state of Qatar has participated with complete conviction in the proceedings of the meetings of the Industrial Cooperation Committee. The committee has been tasked primarily with undertaking a comprehensive review of the industrialization policies existing between the member states, and with setting out once again to coordinate industrial activity to move toward new, programmed horizons so as to distribute industrial activity over the territory of the member states according to relative merits and economic benefit, in addition to making the appropriate arrangements to import technology, and expand technical and vocational training for national cadres working in the GCC states.

#### SUDAN

##### AL-RAYAH Interviews Four Political Leaders on Islamic Law

45040288A Khartoum AL-RAYAH in Arabic  
12 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with Dr Faruq Ahmad Adam, Amin Bashir Falin, Yohannes Yor Achol, and Professor Muhammad al-Hasan al-Amin, by unnamed interviewer; place and date not given; first paragraph AL-RAYAH introduction]

[Text] The country is currently passing through a period of reorganization of its political life. In constitutional

bodies and party organizations debates and discussions are focusing on various areas, including the formation of the government from inside and outside the Constituent Assembly. The investigatory department [of AL-RAYAH] explored the views of a number of politicians.

**Faruq Ahmad Adam**

[AL-RAYAH] What is your opinion about incorporating the Islamic laws into the program of the next government?

[Adam] The problem now is not so much approval of the Islamic laws as that the Sudan is experiencing extremely complicated circumstances in all areas. These circumstances impose upon political activity requirements and necessities based on a minimum [common denominator] that unites the people of the country, so that they can preserve the Sudan as a land and people. Talk about various options, but not about [Islamic law], comes afterwards. As for the current government, I do not think it is resolved to approve the Islamic laws, despite its enjoying the parliamentary majority needed.

[AL-RAYAH] Do you think the departure of the National Islamic Front [NIF] will weaken the domestic front?

[Adam] The NIF's departure from the government constitutes a weakening of the domestic front. For the Islamic program, it constitutes a defeat that will not be relieved by all of the NIF agencies' individual interpretations justifying the NIF's nonparticipation.

[AL-RAYAH] "Trade union representation in the government will solve the country's problem." What is your opinion about that?

[Adam] I think the trade unions are the door to serious efforts to treat current problems, stop their excessiveness, and draw attention in a practical way to the formal makeup of the current parliamentary constitutional system—i.e., to the need to review it. This will be done by giving the modern forces a role to play in the coming elections. The trade unions will enter them, and they will have representatives in the parliament.

[AL-RAYAH] There is talk about foreign pressure behind the current political crisis. What is your opinion?

[Adam] What happened is that the government behaved in a certain way and thus completely isolated the Sudan from those around us, except Libya and Iran. The world therefore began looking at the state of affairs in the Sudan either with hostility, with pity, or as spectators. We are the ones who got into this difficulty by our own hand. There are no external pressures on the Sudan.

**Amin Bashir Filin**

[AL-RAYAH] What is your opinion about including approval of the Islamic laws in the program of the next government?

[Filin] We do not want the Islamic shari'ah to be a matter of political sloganeering that some people wave when they are in a tight spot. It must be a matter of principal that is enacted first within society and in daily life. Sudanese society is well when Islamic. Exploiting this for political purposes has greatly harmed Islam. We ask for no sloganeering in the name of Islam in our daily life, behavior, and dealings.

[AL-RAYAH] Do you think the departure of the NIF will weaken the domestic front?

[Filin] Certainly. The NIF is a force not to be underestimated. Its presence in the government is important. Although I believe no group can force others to enter or leave the government, and that the Sudan will not cease to exist with anyone's leaving, the NIF should remain in the government in order to unite the domestic front.

[AL-RAYAH] Do you think that trade union representation in the government will solve the country's problems?

[Filin] I do not think the entry of the trade unions into the government will solve the country's problems; instead, it will complicate them further. Who can decide whether the physicians', engineers', or farmers' union should participate? What criteria will be used to determine the participation of one union rather than another?

[AL-RAYAH] There is talk about foreign pressure behind the current political crisis in the country. What is your opinion?

[Filin] I agree with this opinion to a great extent. Sadly, the loyalty of some political and party leaders is divided between the Sudan and foreign countries. With some, it is an equal division; with others the foreign countries have the major share. This has a negative effect and poses a great danger to the Sudan's future and security. It requires that nationalist forces loyal to the soil of the homeland unite in the face of these people and decide matters for the benefit of the Sudan.

**Johannes Yor Akol**

[AL-RAYAH] Do you support incorporating the Islamic laws within the program of the next government?

[Akol] We definitely reject this, because we believe that the [government] palace program for the current period represents the minimum [word as published] in which we can participate. Also, the Islamic laws in particular are a matter of dispute between us and the other political

forces. Applying these laws will not lead to the national joining of ranks that some desire in order to confront such urgent crises as the problem of war and peace, the economy, and high prices.

[AL-RAYAH] Do you think the departure of the NIF from the government weakens the domestic front?

[Akol] Talk about weakness of the domestic front if the NIF or any political forces leave (just as we are leaving the agreement) is inexact and generalized. Domestic front unity is unity of the political forces on a minimum program; it is not Cabinet participation and the distribution of portfolios. I consider it no loss if the NIF leaves the government. Its proposals (it experienced a period of opposition in the past) can be a factor of balance in the existing political context. Its departure does not weaken the domestic front; it strengthens it, because NIF proposals would obstruct the nation's course.

[AL-RAYAH] Do you think that trade union representation in the government will solve the country's problems?

[Akol] We think that trade union entry is a necessity imposed by the current political circumstances in terms of creating occupational ideas that can benefit the executive apparatus in dealing with everyday and trade union problems. We do not support having trade union entry into the government obligate us to stop strikes. Despite their participation [in government], the trade unions cannot obligate themselves to stop strikes, since there are political and occupational needs, and striking is a weapon that cannot be laid aside merely for a ministerial portfolio.

[AL-RAYAH] There is talk about foreign pressures that led to the creation of the current political crisis. What is your opinion?

[Akol] There has been talk about foreign involvement and how our will has been mortgaged. But the forces who have raised the issue have produced no proof to date that there is foreign involvement. In my view, we cannot deny the circumstances surrounding us as a result of political repercussions and political blundering. There may be political involvement, because we are not an island isolated from the world.

#### **Professor Muhammad al-Hasan al-Amin**

[AL-RAYAH] Do you support incorporating the [Islamic] laws within the program of the next government?

[Al-Amin] This is a fundamental question. The shari'ah was the program raised by all parties in the last elections. It remains necessary that every party that presented itself

with this program strive to implement the Islamic laws. We find it strange that there are parties that were given a mandate on this program and then come and ignore this direction.

[AL-RAYAH] Do you think the NIF's departure from the government weakens the domestic front?

[Al-Amin] The existence of any substantial political body outside the government in the coming stage will be negative. Even the Democratic Unionist Party will have a negative influence, if the Islamic shari'ah is part of the government's program.

There are the paid forces that stand on the side of John Garang. They are trying to dictate the so-called Sudanese peace initiative, which includes the shelving of the Islamic laws, although they know that the Constituent Assembly is the body empowered to choose what will be the legal standard.

[AL-RAYAH] Do you think that trade union representation in the government will solve the country's problems?

[Al-Amin] I think the entry of the trade unions has not been correctly understood. If the unions enter, confusion will occur between union activity and executive activity. Suppose a minister is a trade unionist. How will he work? How will he be able to reconcile the demands of the union and executive activity? The entry of the trade unions will weaken the government. Union activity must be demand-oriented.

[AL-RAYAH] There is talk about foreign pressures behind the current crisis. What is your comment?

[Al-Amin] It is clear that there was direct foreign influence that led to the eruption of the political crisis and that there were heads of state that were able to impair the country's sovereignty.

#### **Commentator Sees Ethiopia as Weak Against Muslim Neighbors**

45040288B Khartoum AL-RAYAH in Arabic  
16 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Muhammad Taha Muhammad Ahmad: "What Did Mubarak al-Mahdi Bring Back From Addis Ababa?"]

[Excerpts] It has been reported that the rebel movement refused to meet with former Interior Minister Mubarak al-Mahdi, the number-two man in the Ummah Party, and rejected any discussion of peace by him in his capacity as minister, because once the government had been dissolved and lost its legitimacy, Mubarak al-Mahdi's only claim to sitting down and negotiating with the rebels was as a representative of the Ummah Party. [passage omitted]



The Sudanese Armed Forces suffered a series of losses and offered the lives of men and the blood of heroes for a Sudan in which the charade of a bogus peace was being carried on. We say "the charade of a bogus peace," because peace does not come by wishes and by ignorance of the simplest facts of the struggle in the region—a struggle for survival and for existence, not for borders. Ethiopia is a country with a majority of Muslim inhabitants. Historically, the Christian minority has dominated in it. As for the Marxist minority, we know that it is surrounded by Muslim peoples on all sides—Eritrea, Somalia, and the Sudan. We know that if the government system were to stabilize in one of the countries of these Muslim peoples and were to work to make Islam rule, this one country by itself would be sufficient to export unrest to Ethiopia and defeat its system of government by extending the hand of aid to Ethiopian Muslims and directing liberation movements from Tigray, Aroma, and (in Eritrea) the Islamic Front that carries on holy war.

Therefore, over the short run or the long run, Ethiopia will never work to help in any settlement that contributes to realizing stability in neighboring Muslim countries.

Communist Ethiopia today is learning from the experience of the surrounding world. It knows for certain that the victory of the Afghan holy war took place because the

two neighboring Muslim countries, Pakistan and Iran, helped support this holy war. The Western and Eastern camps tried to destabilize Iran by igniting the Gulf war. They tried to destabilize Pakistan by assassinating Ziaul Haq and finding alternative hireling political systems that would shut the door to the liberation of Afghanistan, but the vigilance of the Muslim peoples scattered these plots. The Gulf war stopped, Pakistan became stable, the Afghan mujahidin intensified their attacks, and the Soviet bear was defeated.

If the leaders of the Afghan mujahidin have defeated the strongest superpower, it is natural for Menghistu Haile Mariam to tremble, surrounded as he is by Islam, like a wrist by a bracelet.

Similar to the Afghan victory is the victory of Muslims in the south of Lebanon who took up arms against the Israeli presence in South Lebanon and forced Tel Aviv to retreat. Therefore, any search for a settlement that takes place with Ethiopia to stop the war in the South is doomed to failure. Ethiopia has no interest in the stability of the Sudan. The stability of the Sudan will result in bringing Islam to power, and Islam does not believe in settlements that take place at the expense of Muslim peoples.

## BANGLADESH

### 'Brisk' Business in Sale of U.S. Immigration Visa Forms

46001408 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 4 Mar 89 pp 1, 10

[Text] Quite a large number of trading houses have been making brisk business by selling immigration visa forms for the United States. Being lured by attractive advertisements published in leading dailies, hundreds of thousands of people are queuing in front of those commercial houses to get the forms. These forms are being sold at a price which ranges from Taka 10 to Taka 100. The forms are also available with the wayside vendors.

The U.S. State Department recently released details of a new immigration programmes which will allow 20,000 persons from 'underrepresented countries' to migrate to the United States over the next two years. The United States will issue 10,000 visas for the fiscal year 1990 and the rest 10,000 visas during the year 1991. The selection will be made by the computer randomly from among the people who will apply in between March 1 and March 31, 1989. The rules specified that the applications received prior to March 1 and after March 31 will not be included among those eligible for possible selections.

Most of the advertisements published in the leading newspapers gave an impression that all the 20,000 immigrants will be taken from Bangladesh. In fact, the selection will be made from the applications received from 162 'underrepresented countries'. So the firms who are selling forms on this pretext are bluffing the people.

Informed circle says that none needs consultancy services of the firms thriving on the business of selling forms and its filling formalities. What is needed is that an applicant should send a type-written sheet of paper in the Roman alphabet. The information needs to be furnished includes the name, applicant's date and place of birth, current mailing address, nearest U.S. consular office, name, date and place of birth of spouse and children etc. photographs and envelopes should be of a particular size. Anybody sending two applications at the same time will be disqualified.

The names and addresses of persons selected by the computer will be sent to the U.S. consulates or embassies abroad in whose consular districts the applicants reside. The visa sections of the consulate will invite these persons to file a formal immigrant visa application. The first 20,000 found to be qualified under U.S. law will receive an immigration visa.

Successful immigrants will be able to settle anywhere in the United States but not necessarily, the migrant is assured of a job. He will be entitled to get a job there and until he gets it, he will be drawing a subsistence allowance provided to any U.S. citizen.

Not only in Dhaka, enthusiasm has also been marked in district towns also. In Sylhet town, for example, many firms have made huge profits by selling printed visa forms. The local administration at one stage stopped the widespread sale of the forms mostly devoid of the specified rules. Hundreds of thousands of application forms have already been despatched in the middle of February which means that their arrivals in the United States might have been before March 1. In that case, those applications will be rejected outright as per rule.

Some city trading houses are selling forms in laser or image prints with a higher charge of Taka 100 each. It is anybody's guess that these forms will be at all entertained.

The U.S. embassy in Dhaka has issued notification detailing the procedures for sending immigrant visa applications.

### Report on Ershad Speech at Dhaka Garrison Mosque

46001420 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
18 Mar 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] President H. M. Ershad said in Dhaka yesterday that making of Islam as the state religion of the country had given the nation a sense of direction as well as distinctive identity, reports BSS.

Speaking at the Juma congregation at the Garrison Mosque at Dhaka Cantonment the President said Islam is a complete code of life and if we follow the path ordained in the holy Quran and the teachings of Islam and ideals of Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (SM), we will surely be able to achieve emancipation.

He referred to the increased number of mousollies in mosques to offer prayers and said this was the demonstration of the fact that the people were gradually becoming more and more conscious about their religion.

President Ershad said there are about two lakh mosques in the country and pointed out that it had become necessary to increase their number to cope with the requirements. Inshaallah, we shall make efforts to increase the number of mosques so that people can offer their prayers there, he said.

The congregation was also addressed by Syed Yousuf Al-Jilani, Mutawalli of the Darbar Sharif of Gausel Azam Hazrat Abdul Quader Jilani (RA) and Sheikh Abdul Wahab, Imam of the jame mosque at the mazar sharif of Gausel Azam Hazrat Abdul Quader Jilani (RA).

Chief of Army Staff Lt. General M. Atiqur Rahman, Chief of Naval Staff Air Vice Marshal Mumtazuddin Ahmed, former Minister M. A. Mannan MP, Iraqi

Ambassador in Bangladesh Zhuhair Muhammad Al-Omar and senior officers of the three services were, among others, who offered their Juma prayers at the congregation.

The President welcomed Syed Yousuf Al-Jilani and said the people of Bangladesh always remember Gausel Azam Hazrat Abdul Quader Jilani (RA) with great respect.

He said people of Bangladesh were religious minded. We want the Islam of Allah and his Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (SM), he said and regretted that some people speak about Islam but in reality they are working against it. The nation will not accept such activities to continue, he pointed out.

President Ershad referred to the resurgence of Islam everywhere with the cessation of hostilities between Iraq and Iran and in other areas of Muslim world and said conspiracies were being hatched against Islam by its enemies when Muslims all over the world had been getting united by sinking their differences.

He said the book written by Salman Rushdie was part of this conspiracy. He said the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] had already rejected the book while the government had banned the book in Bangladesh.

The President said being Muslims, people of Bangladesh would foil any conspiracy by any quarters against Islam and Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (SM).

He said as the people of the country had been following the ideals of Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (SM) and path of Islam the Almighty Allah had saved the nation from many problems including that of the devastating floods and cyclones.

Mentioning the services rendered by the members of the Armed Forces during the last catastrophic floods in the country in the Muslim world to recognise Bangladesh and since then it had been a great friend of the country. Iraq had always helped Bangladesh in its difficult times, he pointed out.

The President said Bangladesh had valued the friendship of Iraq and its leadership. He expressed firm confidence that the existing bonds of friendship and cooperation would be further strengthened between the two countries in the coming days and said eleven crore people of Bangladesh would stand by the side of their Iraqi brethren at their time of need.

Addressing the congregation Syed Yousuf Al-Jilani said the enemies of Islam had been trying to create disunity among the Muslims and urged them to remain alert against such attempts so that none could materialise his evil design.

The Mutawalli of the Darbar Sharif of Gausel Azam Hazrat Abdul Quader Jilani (RA) said the people of Bangladesh had overcome the devastating floods last year because they were united under the leadership of President Ershad. Allah has rewarded the people of Bangladesh for their sincerity, he said.

#### **Papers Report on Visit of UN Secretary General**

##### **Talks With Foreign Minister**

46001413 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
5 Mar 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] Visiting UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday held talks with Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud on matters of mutual interest, reports BSS.

The talks, lasting for an hour at state guest house 'Korotoa,' covered different areas including issues relating to global peace and security.

Mr Cuellar was assisted in the talks by high officials of the United Nations including Chief de Mission Virendra Dayal, ESCAP [Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific] Executive Secretary S.A.M.S. Kibria and UNDP [UN Development Program] Representative in Bangladesh Erling Dessau.

The Bangladesh delegation included, among others, Foreign Secretary Mohammad Mohsin, Additional Foreign Secretary M. Mohsin, Bangladesh Alternate Permanent Representative to the United Nations A.H.G. Mohiuddin and Director General in the Foreign Ministry Reaz Rahman.

The Foreign Minister informed Mr Cuellar about Bangladesh's endeavour for a regional approach on flood control measures. He said that regional cooperation could be on catchment management and afforestation, early warning system on natural disasters and coordination on flood control measures between India and Bangladesh.

The Foreign Minister informed the secretary general about the post-flood rehabilitation work in the government's relentless efforts to strengthen the economy.

He also expressed Dhaka's desire to actively participate in the peace keeping efforts in the world and particularly mentioned the country's involvement in the transitional period in Namibian independence.

Mr Mahmud also spoke about the 'SAARC' [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] and the current situation in the region.

The secretary general lauded Bangladesh's post flood rehabilitation and assured United Nations all possible support and assistance to efforts for lasting solution to the flood problem.

Mr Cuellar also stressed the need for inter-dependence between the developing and developed nations for a balanced global development. Two sides reviewed the current political and economic scenario and discussions focussed on issues relating to world peace.

#### **Meeting with Ershad**

46001413 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
5 Mar 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar now here on a 4-day official visit to Bangladesh, called on President Hussain Muhammad Ershad at the President's Secretariat yesterday, reports BSS.

Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud, Foreign Secretary Mohammad Mohsin, Alternate Permanent Representative of Bangladesh to the UN A HG Mohiuddin, Virendra Dayal, Chief de Cabinet and S.A.M.S. Kibria, Executive Secretary of ESCAP [Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific] were present.

During the meeting, President Ershad informed the UN secretary general about various measures taken up by his government for flood control nationally as well as through regional approach with international assistance.

He said the programmes for flood control included intensive afforestation, sharing of data between the countries of the region on the flow of major rivers passing through Bangladesh, early warning system and water management.

The president commended the role played by Mr Cuellar for taking keen interest in the welfare of Bangladesh and its people particularly during the devastating floods last year. He also appreciated the efforts of the United Nations to help Bangladesh in finding out a permanent solution to the problem of flooding in the country.

Expressing his thanks to President Ershad for extending generous hospitality to him and the members of his entourage the UN secretary general said the visit had provided him to have a better perception about Bangladesh and its people as well as the problem of floods.

He reiterated UN commitment to play its role on the development of Bangladesh of its people and made it clear that the United Nations would continue its efforts to help Bangladesh to find out a permanent solution to the problem of floods.

In this context, Mr Cuellar appreciated the efforts of the Bangladesh government for achieving short-term as well as long-term solution to this problem. He also showed keen interest in the origin and flow of the major rivers of the region.

The UN secretary general referred to the forthcoming meeting of the seven industrially developed countries and said the developing countries specially the least developed ones had been hoping for a positive outcome of the meeting in their favour.

Mr Cuellar expressed deep appreciation for contribution of Bangladesh in the peace keeping efforts in Namibia. He also paid personal tributes to President Ershad for his contributions in bringing peace in the Middle East as well as stopping of conflicts in the Gulf.

President Ershad and the UN secretary general also reviewed the situation in regional and international arena.

After the meeting, the president and Mr Cuellar went to the International Conference Centre and saw the photo exhibition organised in connection with the international seminar on Bangladesh floods: regional and global environmental perspective.

They also informally met the delegates from home and abroad taking part in the 4-day seminar which began here today.

#### **Report on Banquet**

46001413 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
6 Mar 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] President H.M. Ershad last night reiterated the desire and willingness of the government and the people of Bangladesh to contribute in all possible ways to furthering the aims and objectives of the United Nations, reports BSS.

In his speech at a banquet hosted in honour of the UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, the president said, "We are encouraged by tangible achievements that the UN has built over years of painstaking labour, which, he said, included dismantling the colonialism, the clear definition of human rights, the codification of international laws, mechanism to respond to disaster, the campaign for food security, child survival and conquest of avoidable diseases and efforts to raise awareness of economic and social imperatives of the poor countries.

"All these supplement the UN's sustained efforts to tackle the great challenge we face—arms limitation and disarmament, the self-determination of peoples, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the causes of economic development which are essential for strengthening universal peace, President Ershad said.

The banquet held at Bangabhaban was attended by First Lady Begum Roushan Ershad, MADame Cuellar, Vice President Justice A.K.M. Nurul Islam, Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed, cabinet ministers, judges of the Supreme Court, high civil and military officials and heads of the diplomatic missions.



President Ershad said while the search for peace remained fundamental it was true that long awaited changes had not been extended to the economic field. The need for action in areas of debt, resource transfer, trade and commodities and human resources development became urgent, he said adding the impact of which on the poorest of the poor, the least developed countries, had been devastating.

'This bleak international outlook has underlined even more starkly, our own flood affected plight. I am happy to report that in the months since the disastrous floods we have been able to mobilise a massive national effort to readjust, recover and revitalise our economy and to set at rest the dire predictions of famine, large scale epidemic and negative growth,' he said.

#### Cuellar

Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar last night stressed the need for working out long-term programmes for dealing with the "recurrent assaults of nature on Bangladesh."

Replying to President Ershad at a banquet given in his honour by the president, Mr Cuellar said though it might not be possible to avoid floods altogether, 'we must do our utmost to control them and mitigate their fury.' The United Nations would strive, to the fullest, to help Bangladesh strengthen its capacity for disaster preparedness and prevention as the General Assembly has requested, he added.

Assuring Bangladesh of the UN's continued support he said it would do everything "it can appropriately do to help in the long-term recovery and rehabilitation efforts" in the country.

Quoting Tagore's 'adversity is great, but man is greater than adversity,' the UN secretary general said as he had seen for himself, it was more than true in Bangladesh. Bangladesh had suffered much adversity from natural causes in recent years.

Lauding the leadership of President Ershad, he said he was "greatly impressed by the fortitude and resilience" that the people of Bangladesh had shown under his (president) "dynamic stewardship" during the catastrophic natural calamities.

Mr Cuellar said the grave economic situation of the least developed countries, the external debt crisis, the fall in commodity prices and the rise in trade-protectionism that inhibits growth, were global problems that required global solutions.

Referring to Bangladesh role in the United Nations, he said every since it joined the United Nations, Bangladesh had demonstrated its commitment and its active support to the world organization.

The secretary general recalled that Bangladesh had in the past served with distinction on the Security Council and as recently as the 41st session in 1986, it provided the General Assembly with its president. Additionally, a number of Bangladesh nationals are serving with distinction in the secretariat.

He further said Bangladesh government had worked hard to temper the rate of population growth through voluntary family planning programmes and added that the active personal leadership of President Ershad in promoting population awareness was well-known.

#### Cuellar at Auditorium

46001413 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
6 Mar 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday visualised a "more liveable and more prosperous world" as a result of a wind of 'wisdom and peace' that was emerging these days, reports BSS.

The United Nations which helped to have the way for this new trend had been quick to grasp the potential benefits and seize the new opportunities for a 'fairer' global environment, he said while giving a talk on "the United Nations and development of human resources—some reflections."

The UN secretary general on the 3d day of his 4-day visit to Bangladesh, gave the talk at the Osmani Memorial auditorium before a select gathering of people from different walks of life.

Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud introduced the distinguished guest, who is here on his first visit as the chief executive of the world body.

Vice President Justice A.K.M. Nurul Islam, Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed, DPM [Deputy Prime Minister]s, cabinet ministers and diplomats were present.

Mr Cuellar referred to different world issues marking a lessening of global tension and said finally there seemed to be an awareness of the debilitating economic and social consequences of the policy of military buildup and confrontation.

"This augurs well for the prospects that will open for economic and social development," he said and sought the cooperation of all nations in turning these developments to people's welfare and benefits.

About his first visit to Bangladesh as the secretary general of the UN, Mr Cuellar paid tributes to people of this country, saying their courage and resilience had been greatly admired in the international community.

The courage has been tried and tested over many years and rarely more so that in 1988, he said about the catastrophic floods and the remarkable degree with

which the situation was faced. Scarcely had you begun to repair the damage done by the 1987 disaster when you were struck by an even more devastating flood followed by a cyclone of immense severity" the secretary general said about the plight of Bangladesh.

Never in recorded history had the benevolent waters which make your fields fertile become such a scourge," he added.

About the response of the international community to this situation in Bangladesh, Mr Cuellar said, the 'words were match by deeds.' He mentioned the special meeting convened by him at the United Nations on 16 November following floods when government and international organisations pledged some 500 million dollars in assistance to Bangladesh.

About the tackling of the situation at home the secretary general said that sustained efforts and practical measures undertaken over many years succeeded in limiting the loss of human life in 1988 and noted that this was in sharp contrast to the calamities of earlier years.

Pointing out Bangladesh's vulnerability to the flooding of the great Himalayan rivers, the secretary general said that it was imperative to be prepared and to seek long term solutions that could address the floods and tame their consequences because the 'people of Bangladesh should not have to endure such hardships year after year.'

Stressing the need for preventive measures, he said task was enormous but noted that Bangladesh had undertaken this with determination and courage.

About the consequences of the natural disasters, Mr Cuellar referred to the UN proclamation of the 1990's as decade for natural disaster reduction and said Bangladesh should unquestionably be among those to benefit first from the programmes to be launched under the decade.

About the problem of floods the secretary general expressed his conviction that it was possible to find more permanent solutions to the serious problems with necessary political will, through cooperative action and mutually agreed arrangements

Mr Cuellar also referred to the problems of Bangladesh as a least developed country and mentioned a series of actions taken by the United Nations to alleviate their sufferings.

Emphasising the need for special recognition to the situation in Bangladesh by the international community in its assistance as a LDC [Least Developed Country], he said and added the UN was preparing to convene next year in Paris another conference on the least developed countries which should help to address some of the problems being faced by these nations.

Mr Cuellar emphasised the need for development of the human resources of Bangladesh. He praised the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] concept and lauded Bangladesh for playing an important role in its evolution and functioning.

#### **International Seminar on Bangladesh Floods Held in Dhaka**

##### **Ershad Opens Meeting**

46001410 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 5 Mar 89 pp 1, 10

[Text] President Hussain Muhammad Ershad on Saturday stressed the need for cooperation and integrated approach of all the countries of the region for solution to flood problems. Interdependence is of vital importance for the rational use and management of internationally shared rivers, the President added.

Inaugurating the three-day international seminar on "Bangladesh floods: Regional and Global Environmental Perspectives" organised by Bangladesh Research Bureau at the International Conference Centre on the day, President Ershad indicated the creation of an International Institute of Environmental Studies in Dhaka.

The use of water from transnational rivers should not be a zero sum game where one party's loss is the gain of the other party, he said. Shared rivers are ideal examples of cooperation on the basis of equity, mutual trust and respect, the President said.

The inaugural session of the conference was also addressed by Deputy Prime Minister [DPM] and Political Adviser to the President Kazi Zafar Ahmad who is also the chairman of the coordinating committee of the seminar, Professor Syed Safiullah Chairman of the organizing committee, Dr. A. K. M. Nuruzzaman and Professor D. I. H. Barr.

Vice-President Justice A. K. M. Nurul Islam, Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed, cabinet ministers, members of the diplomatic corps, representatives of donor agencies and high civil and military officials were among others who attended it. The seminar is being participated by noted experts, academicians and technocrats from home and abroad.

Dwelling at length on causes of repeated floods which cause havoc to our nation, President Ershad said, "I know, you will all agree with me that these catastrophes mostly emanate from beyond our national frontiers. I also believe that you will agree that while a portion of these hazards is natural, their ferocity is accentuated by man's action and inaction."

Recalling the support and assistance received from friendly nations in mitigating the miseries of the flood victims, the President said there are however, limits to our efforts in territorial, technological and financial



terms. He gratefully acknowledged the assistance received from UN bodies. While expressing his thanks to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, President Ershad said the concerns expressed and programmes adopted in the United Nations under the leadership of the Secretary-General "to face and prevent the threats coming to us in the shape of natural disasters reinforce the truth that these calamities are no more treated as national events and cannot be removed through national actions only".

#### 11-Point Programme

President Ershad described the eleven-points short-term programme undertaken by his Government to minimise the sufferings of the people in future. The steps included the construction of helipad in each of 460 upazilas, construction of flood shelters, innovation of crops compatible with flood and emergency storage of foodgrain and other essentials. He further said that the implementation of the concept of clustered village was also oriented towards disaster management. National Disaster Prevention Council has been formed comprising members from all walks of life, he said. President Ershad also gratefully recalled the UN Special Session convened by the UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar in November last and described the response of the world body as an expression of the inner sense of humanity.

President Ershad said the special session of Bangladesh Parliament convened to discuss the situation arising out of the flood disasters and adopted 15-point mid and long term measures for solution of flood problems.

Expressing concern over increasing environmental degradation President Ershad said, "We pledge and extend our full cooperation to find solutions to every regional and global environmental problems. We like to share and participate in activities aimed at reducing and ultimately removing these evils."

He further assured that the recommendations of the seminar would be given due priority in our planning and policy-making.

Deputy Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed said two sub-committees have been formed to recommend measures relating to natural disasters as a statutory body. The members of the National Disaster Prevention Council have been drawn from all spheres of the society irrespective of their political belief, the DPM added. "The national character of the Council is an expression of the democratic values that our nation so very dearly cherishes at all times," he maintained.

#### Text of Declaration

46001410 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 7 Mar 89 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

#### Text of Declaration

Following is the text of Dhaka Declaration issued at the end of the three-day international seminar on "Bangladesh Floods: Regional and Global Environmental Perspectives".

In the wake of the universal surge towards redemption of anthropogenic activities leading to global and regional environmental degradation, 35 eminent scientists from five continents and 182 scientists of Bangladesh, covering all the branches of human cognition relating to environment met in Dhaka 4-6 March, 1989 at the international seminar on "Bangladesh Flood: Global and Regional Environmental Perspectives" in response to the timely and desperate call of the planet earth, to deliberate on every facet of the issues at hand, particularly those relating to the Bangladesh flood of 1988, which was unprecedented in recorded human history.

Bangladesh is frequently exposed to extremes of storm surges and flood on the one hand and drought on the other. It is recognised that many other nations must contend with similar experiences. Today the problems are accentuated by environmental degradations arising from man-made activities originating from beyond the national boundaries, the consequences of which also transcends national frontiers, accordingly. Notwithstanding the global nature of the problem, it is those nations that are particularly affected by these natural—climatic environmental—disasters particularly pressed to seek ways of tackling the problems. Bangladesh has taken a pioneering lead in setting up a National Disaster Prevention Council following the devastating floods of 1987 and particularly that of 1988. The international support for the united efforts of the people of Bangladesh found expression in the special session of the United Nations Organisation on Bangladesh flood in November, 1988.

In continuation of the national efforts, this seminar on "Bangladesh Floods: Regional and Global Environmental Perspectives" had brought together the eminent scientists and academics from home and abroad in all relevant areas to exchange ideas and formulate strategies for resolving these issues.

The deliberations of this seminar focussed on five main themes:

1. Permanent flood control and management.
2. Floods: socio-economic and legal aspects.
3. Living with flood: The need for disaster management.
4. Geomorphological process leading to flood.
5. Anthropogenic perturbations of the environment and the greenhouse effect.

After detailed deliberations and exchange of ideas and particularly being inspired by the wise counsel and statesmanship of the President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Hussain Muhammad Ershad, the seminar had formulated certain recommendations which can be summed up as follows:

1. Recommends the continuation of scientific and technological studies at both regional and global levels. These studies should be directed towards further assessment and understanding of all aspects of environmental sciences including geochemical and geomorphological processes, climatic factors, etc.

2. Recommends that studies be conducted for developing and coordinating strategies for permanent flood control and disaster management. These studies should incorporate channel relief, embankment construction, sediment transport, monitoring, forecasting and early warning system and the formulation of preventive procedure relating to rescue, relief and rehabilitation.

3. Recommends the formulation of legal framework so that it would be possible to examine and apply international laws governing environmental issues and riparian relations at all levels.

4. In the context of these recommendations and following the suggestions made in the President's inaugural address we propose the establishment of an "international institute of environmental studies" and request the government of the people's republic of Bangladesh as well as the international community to render all possible assistance for the establishment of the proposed institute.

Proposed structure of the international institute of environmental studies to be established in Dhaka.

Chief Patron: The Hon'ble President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Hussain Muhammad Ershad.

Patrons: B. M. Abbas, A. T., Deputy Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed, Secretary-General Prof Syed Safiullah.

The structure of the institute and the formation of the management committees will be decided upon in consultation with the Hon'ble chief patron, patrons, Board of Hony. Advisors and the Secretary-General. [passage omitted.]

**International Jute Council Meets, Pact Approved**  
46001418 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 17 Mar 89 p 10

[Text] The eleventh session of the International Jute Council (IJC), has successfully concluded its deliberations with agreement on the re-negotiation of the terms

of the International Jute Organization (IJO) for consideration in the UNCTAD [UN Conference on Trade and Development] conference to be held in Geneva in October this year.

The eight-day session which concluded in Dhaka on Wednesday approved the market promotion project for the jute carpet backing in the United States and revised project on development and extension of jute based farming system and accorded the highest priority to the germplasm project of IJO.

The session of the International Jute Council was attended by delegates and representatives of 32 member countries and seven observers. The member countries include both jute producing and jute consuming countries. Bangladesh, China, India, Nepal and Thailand are the jute producing and exporting countries.

Briefing newsmen on the just concluded IJC session at IJO headquarters at Banani on Thursday, Mr. Harbans Singh, Executive Director of the Organisation said that the Council session also approved an administrative budget of 9,51,000 [as printed] US dollars for 1989-90.

#### Chisti IJO Director

He said that the session also decided appointment of Mr. Shamsul Huq Chisti as Executive Director of IJO with effect from January 9, 1990 for a period of one year which will be extended for another two years subject to the renewal of the agreement beyond January 1991. Mr. Chisti is now Defence Secretary to the Government of Bangladesh.

Mr. Harbans Singh said that the session had intense discussion on the provisions of the agreement. But he said the agreement remains the same as before and there is no basic change in the articles.

He said that two amendment proposals moved by the jute exporting countries were dropped following opposition from the importing countries. The proposals made by the exporting countries included stable prices for jute and jute goods and assured funding for IJO projects.

Replying to queries, Mr. Harbans Singh said IJO would basically remain a research-oriented organisation and largely depend on voluntary contributions. He told a questioner that common fund for IJO was expected very shortly which would be made available for development purposes.

Answering a question, the Executive Director said that IJO had already raised five million US dollars for funding its projects. The ongoing projects of IJO are germplasm project and seer project aiming at raising the quality and yield of jute cultivation.

He said that since the establishment, IJO had been able to keep the global jute market intact in spite of serious challenge from synthetic fibres. In this connection he added that the position of jute in the global market had improved for the last few months. But he foresees a tougher competition for jute from synthetic fibres in the coming months as jute price is on the rise.

He informed that the demand for jute carpet backing in the Japanese and US markets had gone up. He, however, hastened to add that jute still continued to face threats from the synthetic fibres.

#### **Jatiya Party 'Sources' Say Major Shake-up Expected**

46001414 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 14 Mar 89 pp 1, 10

[Text] The ruling Jatiya party [JP] is likely to undergo some major changes soon as part of its efforts to revamp the organisation and end inner-party squabbles, sources in Dhaka indicated on Monday reports UNB.

Top party sources told UNB on condition of anonymity that JP, lying moribund since last year's devastating floods, needed a shot in the arm to make it organisationally more effective and strong enough to face the growing opposition challenge.

The Party high-command, the sources said, apparently annoyed with simmering internal bickerings and consequent lethargy had been seriously contemplating some major changes to infuse fresh vigour in to the organisation amid speculation of a mid-term election.

The "drive" towards organisational changes is expected to start by the end of this month, tentatively after President Ershad's scheduled visit to Paris. They said indicating that in the process, the cudgel might fall on the party Secretary-General Shah Moazzem Hossain.

Sources believed in the process of the shakeup, Hossain might eventually be replaced by one who would not irritate the opposition parties." [quotations as received]

Other changes that might come with the new drive could be that the JP Central Committee different front organisations and units at the district levels may be recast and reshuffled, the sources said.

The drive, they said, would be aimed at launching fresh programmes to win popular support and political credibility for JP, floated in 1986 under the patronage of President Hussain Mohammad Ershad.

#### **Moazzem's View**

Deputy prime minister and the JP secretary-general, when asked to comment on the possible changes, said that according to the party constitution, the committees are to be reconstituted every 2 years.

He however, denied that there was any internal conflicts in JP. "We have one leader there may be differences of opinion but we are united on the question of the party's common programme."

Some younger breed JP sources alleged that some of the senior members of the Cabinet kept themselves aloof from the party activities while the organisation itself did not have "any effective programme to counter the opposition politics."

"The party is being drifted apart from the workers" one source of the information observed.

Another mid-level leader said, "JP" could not takeoff as political party because of different lobbies at the party's upper echelon." [quotations as received]

The ruling party had its Secretary General changed many a times and the sources said, every time a new face assumed the organisational leadership, he went on to change the committees from the national level down to the local tiers in a bid to consolidate his own position and influence.

#### **Two Lobbies**

Sources identify two main lobbies in the ruling party one headed by DPM [Deputy Prime Minister] Kazi Zafar Ahmed and the other by DPM Shah Moazzem.

They said Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed led a small lobby to suit his own "politics" while Deputy Prime Minister Dr Abdul Matin tended to shift his stance depending on the circumstances.

There are yet some leaders who preferred individual and direct liaison with the top leadership, the sources said.

A senior JP leader observed that the changes and organisational drive "are imperative more perhaps in view of the growing speculation of fresh election."

He said the new moves might be also be seen as an attempt to reconcile the lobbies under one "single leadership" who could steer the organisation to the run-up to possible mid-term polls.

Sources further said that the experienced of the 1988 Parliamentary elections was not a pleasant one when he blamed, some senior leaders foul-played with nominations and the hustings. [sentence as received]

"Some of them even carried on Tadbirs for independent contestants or another party's candidates" a young leader said claiming it to be his neutral observation.

Similar episodes were enacted in the recent municipality elections in which the ruling party nagged 34 seats out of the total of 86 the sources said.



**Jatiya Secretary General: No Factions in Party**  
46001415 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 15 Mar 89 pp 1, 12

[Text] The Jatiya Party Secretary General and Deputy Prime Minister, Shah Moazzem Hossain, on Tuesday urged the party workers not to be misled by any propaganda against the organisation.

Contradicting a news item creeded by a news agency (not BSS) and published in a section of press Shah Moazzem said the Jatiya Party [JP] which had already emerged as the largest and strongest political organisation in the country under the pragmatic leadership of President Ershad was committed to serve the interest of the people and build a new Bangladesh despite all odds and conspiracies.

He categorically denied the existence of any grouping in the party. He described the news agency report as concocted, motivated and baseless. It was designed to create confusion among the party workers, he added.

Shah Moazzem pointed out that being frustrated at the growing popularity of the Jatiya Party some elements were dishing out fabricated new items on the Jatiya Party.

Commenting on the sources attributed to Anonymous Jatiya Party Leaders, Shah Moazzem described them as the fifth columnists. Neither any responsible Jatiya Party leader nor any low ranking worker could speak against the interest and integrity of the party, he observed.

Shah Moazzem Hossain, however, said those speaking against the interest of the party were not in fact loyal to the party leadership and friends to the party workers. In fact, they were betraying the leadership of President Ershad and his party. Rather they were acting as the agents of those who were opposed to the policies and programmes of the Jatiya Party and serving the purpose of the opposition, he added.

Referring to the speculation of a shake up in the party, the JP Secretary General ruled out any possibility of recasting the central committee in the near future. About the proposition that the incumbent Secretary General would be replaced by one who would not irritate the opposition parties Shah Moazzem said such an insinuation was totally irrelevant. Because, he pointed out, no party post could be distributed to anybody at the sweet will of the Opposition political parties neither President Ershad nor the Jatiya Party would succumb to such propositions, he said.

Shah Moazzem Hossain however said the opposition political parties who had so long utterly failed to counter the political programmes of the Jatiya Party might want his replacement for their own interest and existence. If I

have become a big scare to the Opposition, it would be my best price in my political career success of the politics of President Ershad, and pride to the Jatiya Party workers he stressed.

He quoted Sher-e Bangla A.K. Fazlul Huq, as having said once whenever opposition would appreciate me then it would have to be understood that I am serving against the interest of the party. Shah Moazzem said there was no darling of the opposition in the Jatiya Party which had tackled all the disruptive and negative programmes of the Opposition politically in the past. Sharply reacting to the comment that the Jatiya Party was in a moribund state since last year's devastating floods, Shah Moazzem said there could not be any greater lie than this. Because, he added the Jatiya Party had emerged much stronger after the recent worst ever floods through its selfless service, through its massive relief and post flood rehabilitation programmes. Joining of hundreds of leaders and workers from different opposition parties with the Jatiya Party was the manifestation of this fact, he claimed.

Moreover, he said, the Jatiya Party was strong and capable enough to face any crisis or any opposition challenge, although there were not opposition political activities or challenge at the moment.

About allegations that some senior members of the Cabinet were keeping themselves aloof from the party activities, the JP Secretary General said it was not true. Each and every rank and file member of the Jatiya Party was very much active to implement the party programmes at his respective levels.

Shah Moazzem recalled the unity and the courage with which the Jatiya Party workers had faced the opposition programmes of destruction and disruption including Dhaka Gherao in 1987.

Dismissing the claim of one anonymous source that the Jatiya Party was drifting from the workers, Shah Moazzem said it was a figment of the imagination. He however, added that his party was aimed at effecting the welfare of the people and building the country on a sound footing. The door of the Jatiya Party would always remain open for those who would work for achieving the goals of the party and materialising the dreams of President Ershad, he said and added there was no room for self-seekers who would work against the interest of the party he emphasized.

Shah Moazzem asserted that there had been no change of party committees at any level after her assumed the post of the Secretary General.

#### **Bangladesh Nationalist Party National Council Meets**

##### **Meeting Opens**

46001411 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
9 Mar 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] The third national council of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) began yesterday with the party chief



making a passionate plea to the opposition groups to unite "to try once again to oust" the present government running the country for 7 years.

"I appeal to all political parties to shun differences and forget past bitterness in order to forge a united and ever more powerful campaign to oust the autocratic government Begun Khaleda Zia told over 3,000 councillors and supporters who gathered at the law of the Engineers Institution.

Earlier, she declared the council open raising the national flag and the party flag fluttering in the spring wind amidst the tune of the national anthem performed by a party chorus who, also sang the party song.

Arriving at the conference venue, escorted by motor cycle riders, the widow, who took over the mantle of her assassinated husband President Ziaur Rahman when the party had been overthrown from power, set the tune of the council that appeared to be more like a reunion. She spelled out here party's policies and course of action in her over an hour-long written speech.

Gray-haired leaders from the districts and the cities, who once had either been MPs or ministers, mingled with the jean-clad, running shoe fitted youths who joined the party on the streets, at the council venue to shape and mould the party's future.

The venue was not far from the Ramna Green, where BNP was born in 1978 with groups ranging from conservative Muslim League to left-leaning NAP [National Awami Party] (Bhasani). But the council was different yesterday. The last one was held while the party run the helms of the government and yesterday's one was being held when the party was toughened on the streets. [sentence as received]

The issues the councillors, whose number was officially put at 1806, later picked up, ranged from rebuilding the party machine, slowed or weakened following four major splits and defection in the past at the close door session which ended at 9 pm. They also began dissection of the last 8 years' events including the unity with Awami League on 5-points and debated among others on the form of government.

Welcoming the Councillors and delegates at the inaugural session one-time party secretary general Prof Badruddoza Choudhury as convener of the reception committee outlined four points to debate and decide upon to steer the party in its future course. You have to chart the course for future sailing in the background of the country's politics, evaluating the political, administrative economic and social situation obtaining at present, he told the party leaders and activists. We have to re-evaluate and renew our party constitution and programme, if needed. The people also want to know from you the form of government to run the nation in future,

whether it would be a presidential or parliamentary or a mixed one. they also want to know from you categorically about the movement, Prof Choudhury said.

At the close door session 32 party leaders from district and upazilas spoke until it was adjourned at 9 pm. To meet at 10 am today. They discussed, among others, the party's future preference for presidential form of government or making it responsible to parliament in a new form of government or switching over to a Westminster type of government. They also criticised the party leaders' failure to maintain liaison at the grassroot and stressed the need for revamping the party machine.

A set of amendments was also proposed after address by the Party Secretary General Abdus Salam Talukder. These include streamlining the party apparatus. The amendments are likely to be adopted at the concluding session along with the election of a new leadership. According to insiders, the present leadership is likely to stay with infusion of new blood from among the youthful activists. The party may have a new secretary general if Prof Badruddoza Choudhury agrees. Otherwise, Abdus Salam Talukder who replaced K.M. Obaidur Rahman in July last, may stay, insiders say.

### Zia Speech

46001411 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
10 Mar 89 p 3

[Text] Follows the rest of our report on first days session of BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] council. We published part of the report in our yesterday's issue.

Earlier, at her inaugural speech Begum Zia spelled out the party's strategy in the coming day's rejecting any chances of participating in the elections under the present government, calling for building greater national unity on the basis of the one-point demand, strengthening it further with the spirit of Bangladeshi nationalism which she termed as the safeguard of independence and sovereignty to save the nation from the course of destruction on the basis of Shahed Zia's 19-point programme.

Our ultimate aim is an exploitation-free democratic society on the basis of justice. Our immediate aim is to establish democracy in the country, because we believe that with out a people's government it is not possible to understand or resolve the problems of different classes and professions in the country, Begum Zia said adding that "there is no alternative to a united movement to dislodge the government.

The BNP chairman underlining her party's policies said: We believe in a multi-party democracy with rule of law, freedom of judiciary and freedom of press combining with social justice. We stand for a balanced economy where public and private sectors contribute to the pace of development. We want a sound dynamic private

sector and a public sector mainly for basic and defence industries. At the same time we shall encourage Bangladeshi and overseas private investments, outside these sectors, she added.

Begum Zia also stated the BNP, if voted to power, will ensure five basic needs of the people: food, clothing, shelter, health and education. It will also repeal all 'black laws' including Special Powers Act and the Press and Publications Act. If necessary, it will undertake constitutional and institutional changes to ensure holding of neutral polls, she said.

Turning to the foreign policy, she said that steps will be taken to revalidate the guarantee clause embodied in the 1977 Farakka Agreement to ensure Bangladesh's share in the Ganges water. The party will pursue an independent non-aligned foreign policy stressing relations with the Muslim World. We also believe in good relations with our neighbours on the basis of equality and friendliness to solve problems. We also welcome the Geneva Accords and the struggle of Afghan people for their self-determination, he added.

The BNP chief in her long speech refrained from making an comments on her main adversary, Awami League chief Sheikh Hasina by name. She referred to participation of the 15-Party Alliance leader in the 1986 parliamentary polls which was boycotted by BNP-led Seven-Party Alliance and Five-Party Alliance.

Referring to the imposition of certain conditions on the one-point, she warned that any deviations would amount to betrayal with the people before whom we have made pledges to remove the government.

The BNP chief also criticised the government sharply for its policies and held it responsible for what she said ruining the national economy, institutionalising ballot fraud, promoting corruption and failing to run the country properly.

She said governments declined in 1989 to 1250 million dollars 1500 million dollars in 1981. Even the ADP of the current fiscal year would come down below 1200 million dollars. Because of unproductive expenditures, the government had even been failing to provide funds for different projects, she alleged.

She also criticised the foreign policy of the government saying that the country lost its Security Council seat in UN and that Dahagram Farakka, Angorpota, Talpatty and tin bigha issues have not solved, situation in Chitragong Hill tracts took a new turn with patriotic people being killed by so-called Shantibahini and the nation face a new conspiracy like the demand for so-called Bangabhumii. The BNP chief added all these proved the failures of governments foreign policy.

She also accused the government of failing to resolve the flood problems when the world, according to her, extended a helping hand.

Among others diplomats from the United States, UK, Australia, USSR and India were present at the inaugural session.

### Decisions Reported

46001411 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
10 Mar 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] The 2-day national council of BNP (Bangladesh National Party) concluded last night accusing the government of destroying the 'electoral and the political institutions' and ruining the socio-economic fabric of the nation and pursuing a 'subservient foreign policy undermining the nation's' sovereignty. [quotations as received]

The party council, reviewing the elections held recently, also expressed its concern about political institutions and reiterated the stand not to join any elections under the supervision of the present government.

"To legalise the autocratic rule there had been two so-called parliamentary and one presidential polls. But these elections had no credibility as the people rejected them and even the foreign powers had to concede that the polls under this government had no credibility," a resolution adopted at the council said.

In the political resolution at the end of the council, which took place after 8 years at the institution of Engineers, BNP reiterated its call for revamping the waning opposition movement on the basis of the one point demanding ouster of the government and free had fair elections under a caretaker government. [sentence as received]

The councillors were unanimous to reject the idea of joining any elections under the government saying that polls supervised by it cannot be free and fair, Ab Salam Talukder, Secretary General of the party, told newsmen yesterday evening.

The conference endorsed the earlier decisions of the leadership regarding formation of National Committee, Standing Committee and Executive Committee in particular with Abdus Salam Talukder as the secretary general replacing K.M. Obaidur Rahman last year.

Abdus Salam Talukder said that 136 leaders including 65 from districts took part in the discussions until 7:30 pm, yesterday. He said, leaders representing 77 district committees, attended the council. There had been no representation from Lama and Khagrachari.

The councillors also approved a set of amendments to the party constitution expanding the size of the Executive Committee which will have 231 members instead of 185, creating a 10-member council of advisers having the ranks of vice-chairman and converting the council as the electoral college of BNP.

Party sources said, the issue of the form of government also came up for discussion with strong opinions for and against modifying the presidential form of government and making it answerable to parliament. But the councillors decided to leave the issue on the shoulders of a constitution committee to further examine it, they said.

The political resolution criticised launching of the seven point program by Awami League and the Eight-party Alliance raising the question on the system of government. It pointed out that when the five-point movement was launched it was agreed that after the fall of the government those who would attain majority in an election under a neutral government could bring amendments to the country's Constitution.

The political resolution also urged all democratic and anti-authoritarian parties, groups and alliances to unite again, reflecting the people's desire for fulfillment of the one-point programme aimed at ousting the government. "BNP had never any reservation in the past to unite all in the stream of anti-authoritarian movement. It will never have in the future, too. But that does not mean that the party will remain quiet if no one steps forward in this regard. BNP will continue its movement against autocracy," it said.

The council charged that Awami League, Eight-party Alliance and Five-party Alliance have been trying to create confusion and impose preconditions among the ranks of antiauthoritarian movement in the name of resisting the fundamentalists. "At the same time they want to bracket BNP with the fundamentalists and communal forces. Keeping its faith in religion unaltered the BNP council wants to declare that because of political and ideological reasons the party is not fundamentalist or communal and it never had any relationship with such forces. Rather it is well-known to all that the Eight-party Alliance including Awami League and CPB [Communist Party of Bangladesh] entered into a entente with Jamaat-e-Islami and helped the government stay in power by participating in the 1986 elections stabbing on the back of the people, it noted.

The resolution warned the people of what is said conspiracies by the government to perpetuate its rule by frustrating the movement with another 'bait' of elections. [sentence as received]

A resolution on the foreign policy criticised the government for its failure to receive the just share of the Ganges water and resolve the issues of Talpatty, Angorpota, Dahagram which had slipped out of its hand. As a result the

country is experiencing desertification during the dry season and flooding during the monsoon because of withdrawal of water of international rivers originating from the Himalayas. On the Chittagong Hill Tracts, it observed that the situation there had assumed a serious turn because of the subservient foreign policy. Referring to the so-called Bangabhumii movement it said that the movement has threatened the national existence and demanded a clarification on the issue and urged people to remain alert against it. The party demanded exemplary punishment to the people conspiring against the independence and sovereignty. But it condemned indiscriminate arrests and prolonged detention without trial in this connection. It also demanded release of all political prisoners including student leaders Sanaul Hup Niru Shafiq and demanded withdrawal of expulsion orders in party's student supporters of Dhaka University.

### Developments in Chittagong Tribal Area Reported

#### Districts Given Special Status

46001407 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
1 Mar 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] Three districts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) have been given the status of special area through the passage of three bills in the Jatiya Sangsad (parliament) yesterday.

These bills were brought in view of the necessity to frame a special law aimed at ensuring overall development of Rangamati, Khagrachhari and Bandarban hill districts through participation of the local people who are less developed compared to the people [in] other parts of the country.

The law enacted through the passage of the bills has provided wide powers to the local government councils of the three hill districts so that the people belonging to 12 tribes can preserve their own cultural heritage social customs and ethnic entity. The tribes living in the CHT are Chakma, Murma, Tripura, Murong, Lusai, Tongchoinga, Pankho, Kheyang, Uchai, Bome, Chaak and Khushi. Alongside them there are non-tribal as well.

Each hill district local government council will comprise a chairman and 30 members—all to be elected on the basis of direct vote. The term of the councils will be three years. The chairmen will be elected from among the tribesmen while the deputy commissioner of a district will function as ex-official secretary of the district council under his jurisdiction.

The Rangamati Hill district local government council, apart from the tribal chairman, will have 20 tribal members and 10 non-tribal members. Among the 20 tribal members 10 will be elected from among the Chakmas, four from among the Murmas, two from among the Tongchoingas, and one each from among the Lushais, the Pankhos, the Tripuras and the Kheyangs.



There will be 21 tribals and nine non-tribals as members of the Khagrachhari Hill district local government council while 19 tribal members and 11 non-tribal members will form the Bandarban Hill district local government council. The tribal members of the latter will comprise 10 representatives of the Murma and the Kheyang, three representatives of the Murung and one each from the Tripura and the Uchai, the Tonchoinga, the Chakma, Khushi, the Chaak and the Bome, the Lushai and the Pankhu.

The bills provide power to the hill district local government councils to appoint and transfer police up to the rank of Assistant Subinspector, to formulate budget for allround development activities and to impose levy locally with the approval of the government.

The elections to the councils will be conducted and the Election Commission and the members will be elected directly by the voters of respective districts.

#### **Tribal Leaders Meet**

46001407 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
4 Mar 89 pp 1, 8

[Text] Khagrachari, Mar 3 (BSS): Tribal people here today pledged their total support to the recently passed Hill Tracts Zila Parishad Act and expressed firm determination to help implement its provisions in letter and spirit.

A meeting of the tribal people was held at Golabari here this morning to discuss the latest situation of the hill tract areas after the Jatiya Sangsad passed three bills granting special status to hill tract districts.

Tribal leaders at the meeting said that the three bills passed recently by Jatiya Sangsad according special status to Rangamati, Bandarban and Khagrachhari hill districts would fulfill the hopes, aspirations and political rights of the tribal peoples for which they had been struggling for many years. Our hopes and aspirations would be fulfilled when the Hill Tracts Zila Parishad Act provisions would be implemented, they commented.

The meeting was addressed by former Presidential Adviser Upendra Lal Chakma, Khagrachhari Government High School Head Master Nabin Kumar Tripura, Marma Unnapan Sangsta Chairman Remrachari Marma and Vice Chairman Chaikhoai Marma and Khagrachhari Union Parishad Chairman Khetra Mohan Tripura. Present at the meeting were Khagrachhari Upazila Chairman Jatindra Tripura, Khagrachhari Poursava Chairman Zahedul Alam, Khagrachhari Mukti Joddah Sangsad Chairman Dost Muhammad, Pahari Janakalyan Samity General Secretary Samiran Dewa, Kamalchari Union Parishad Chairman Kongjai Marma and Golabari U.P. Chairman Aunkyajai Chowdhury.

Mr Upendra Lal Chakma, also a member of hill tract liaison committee explained in details his contacts with so-called Shantibahini leaders between 1985 and February last and said that they had adopted a dilly-dally tactics without coming to an understanding with Bangladesh government. He said that so-called Seantibahini members had failed to appreciate the Bangladesh government offers and that they were bent upon creating trouble in the hill tract areas multiplying the sufferings of lakhs of tribals and non tribals of the area.

Mr Chakma said that tribal peoples had now realised the bad intention of the so-called Shantibahini men whose activities like looting, kidnapping and extracting money from tribals and non-tribals were not aimed at welfare of the people. The tribal people are fed up with Shantibahini oppression, he added.

Mr. Chakma said that he had asked the armed Shantibahini men to come to normal life, work for the welfare of tribal people. He also said that Bangladesh government could not concede to their illegal demands and their dilly-dally tactics had bored the tribal leaders and people who were anxious to see implementation of the provisions of Hill tracts District Council Act at the earliest possible time.

Mr. Chakma said that the Shantibahini leaders held six meetings with the government representatives but raised new issues at the sixth meeting as a result of which the proposed 7th meeting could not be held. It was impossible on the part of the government to accept new issues raised by Shantibahini at the 6th meeting and thus the 7th meeting could not beheld, he added.

He said that the government and tribal leaders were always ready to solve the hill tract problems to solve the hill tract problems through mutual discussions and that the door was open for them to further discussion even after the passing of the Hill Tracts District Council Act. In this connection he referred to the memorandum of understanding the tribal leaders reached with the government recently to help solve the problem.

Another member of hill tract liaison committee Mr Nabin Kumar Tripura endorsed the views expressed by Mr Upendra Lal Chakma and called upon the tribal peoples to extend their whole hearted cooperation to the government in implementing the provisions of the Hill Tracts District Council Act.

At the end of the meeting a 35-number committee with Mr Hansawdas Chakma was formed with a view to resisting Shantibahini activities and helping implementation of the provisions of Hill Tracts District Council Act. The committee comprises members of Chakma, Marma and Tripura communities of Khagrachhari, Golabari and Panchari. The members of the committee took oath to resist Shantibahini men and help implement government decisions in the hill tracts.



### Elections by 30 Jun

46001407 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*  
in English 14 Mar 89 p 1

[Excerpt] A meeting of the Council of Ministers was held in Dhaka on Monday at Bangabhaban with President Hussain Mohammad Ershad in the chair, reports BSS.

The meeting decided to hold elections to the districts of Chittagong Hill Tracts within June 30 next and asked the concerned ministries and departments to make arrangements and take necessary steps in this regard. [passage omitted]

### Preliminary Estimate Shows Decline in Growth of Economy

46001419 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English  
19 Mar 89 pp 1, 8

[Article by Hassan Abul Ouashem]

[Text] The growth performance of the economy has declined this fiscal year ('88-89) compared to even the low level of growth last fiscal year ('87-88).

A preliminary official estimate shows that growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is only 2.09 percent this year as against the estimated growth of 2.95 percent last year.

The decline in economic growth has been attributed to the devastating floods, cyclone and tidal waves which caused widespread damage of domestic assets and hampered agricultural and industrial production this year. The growth rates this year as well as last year are, however, below the population growth rate over the period.

With these growth rates, the average annual growth rate of the economy during the first four years of the on-going Third Five-Year Plan (1985-90) has been estimated at 3.4 percent, against the plan projection of 5.4 percent.

Of the various major sectors, agriculture sector's performance has deteriorated more than that of other sectors. According to official evaluation made in connection with the ensuing Bangladesh Aid Consortium meeting in Paris, agriculture sectors performance showed a negative growth of 0.43 percent this year as against 1.05 percent growth last year.

Of the major sectors, industries sector performed better this year compared to last year while performance of all other sectors except the construction sector was poorer.

The growth of the industries sector has been estimated at 5.41 percent this year as against 3.51 percent last year, while construction sector grew by 11.38 percent this year compared to 9.88 percent last year among other sectors, electricity and gas grew by 14.39 percent, transport and communication by 4.40 percent, trade and other services

3.72 percent, housing 2.41 percent and public services by 2.72 percent as against 15 percent, 8.50 percent, 5 percent, 2.50 percent and 6.4 percent respectively last year.

In agriculture sector production of aus and aman declined while that of boro and wheat increased this year. This year production of boro is estimated to have increased to 5.13 million tons this year against the production of 4.73 million tons and wheat production increased to 1.29 million tons this year compared to 1.05 million tons last year. Raw jute production declined to 4.50 million bales against 4.70 million bales and jute goods production increased to 6 lakh tons this year compared to 5.82 lakh tons in last year.

The performance of the industries sector is slightly better this year.

The output of cotton yarn and mill made cloth have increased to 67 million kg and 910 kg respectively this year compared to last years levels of 59 million kg and 868.63 million kg respectively.

The growth rates, however, are much at variance with the World Bank estimates of growth rates this year and also last year. The bank estimated the growth rate (GDP) at 2 percent for fiscal '87-88 and 1 to 2 percent for fiscal '88-89.

### Plans for Launching of Liberal Democratic Party

46001417 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*  
in English 17 Mar 89 pp 1, 10

[Text] A new political party styled Liberal Democratic Party is going to be floated in the first week of April, sponsors of the proposed organisation said, reports UNB.

Some prominent politicians including some former Ministers of the Jatiya Party and the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] government are active in launching the party with the main objective to contend for power.

The main sponsors of the move are former Ministers Salahuddin Quader Chowdhury, Anwar Zahid, Barrister Abul Hasnat and former MP Murshed Khan.

Talking to UNB on Thursday, Salahuddin Quder Chowdhury said they were going to form the party with a new approach to "contend for power and act as an alternative to the Government with the verdict of the people."

He said the politicians who had personal charisma and capability to contribute to politics with fresh vigour would be preferred in the new party.

Chowdhury said they have already had several rounds of discussions with such politicians and personalities and got encouraging response from them.

He said a 100-member organising committee would be named in the first week of the next month and full-fledged committee of the party would be formed at a convention in Dhaka within one month.

He hinted that Anwar Zahid or Abdul Alim had been tipped as organising committee's member-Secretary who would be entrusted with the responsibility of holding convention of the party within a month.

Chowdhury declined to name others expected to join the party "due to strategic reasons," but hinted that former Deputy Prime Minister and BNP (Obaid) leader Jamaluddin Ahmed, former Minister and Jatiya Party leader Air Vice-Marshal (Retd) A.K.M. Aminul Islam and former Muslim League leader and Parliamentary Secretary Shamsul-Al-Amin could lend their support to the new initiative.

Replying to a question, he said their party would advocate a form of government directly accountable to Parliament, mixed economy and nationalism based on aspirations of the 'sons of the soil.'

Asked if they will join the mid-term election, if any, he said they would surely join it, if it is free and fair.

Answering a question on the Opposition demand for an election under a neutral government, Chowdhury said "neutral government is a vague term...what is important in ensuring a free and fair election is the neutrality of the election-conducting authority when the power elite wants to prop up the government."

Responding to another question, he said they would not welcome the involvement of the Armed Forces in politics. He blamed the Awami League for involving senior Army officers including Ziaur Rahman in politics by inducting them into BAK-SAL [Bangladesh Awami Krishak Sramik League] after introducing the one-party rule in 1975.

## **International Aid in Building of Two New Bridges**

### **Jamuna Bridge Plans**

46001416 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 17 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Representatives from donor agencies will met in Dhaka at the end of the current month to review the third feasibility study report on the Taka 2,000 crore Jamuna multi-purpose bridge. Work on the 3-mile-long bridge over River Jamuna with a new provision for single track metre gauge railway line, is expected to begin towards the end of the next year.

The construction will take 4 and ½ years to complete.

When completed, the bridge will connect Bangladesh with Western Europe through the Asian Highway which runs across Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia and Singapore. Another road bridge near Hardinge Bridge will be constructed to maintain the road link.

The revised cost of the project excluding Customs duties and other taxes but including price escalation, has been estimated at U.S. dollar 565 million. The cost of the project without provision of railway line was U.S. dollar 476 million, which however, included cost escalation.

The provision for railway track was not considered in the original plan of Jamuna multi-purpose bridge. The Bangladesh Government insisted that the railway track on this ambitious project was essential and as such, the railway track was incorporated in the plan, which would involve an additional cost of U.S. dollar 89 million. The matter was decided upon during the last meeting of donors in Dhaka held in June last year.

In addition to railway track the bridge will have provision for second East-West Interconnector. If separately done, East-West Interconnector would cost U.S. Dollar 95 million. Besides road communication, the multi-purpose bridge will also have provision for gas supply. Separate gas supply line would involve an amount of U.S. dollar 230 million which will be saved through the project. Telecommunication network will also be maintained through the bridge.

The third phase feasibility report had been submitted to Jamuna multipurpose bridge authority last month. The preparation of the feasibility report in three phases had cost U.S. dollar 8.5 million.

Bangladesh has already, it is learnt, received firm commitment of 100 million U.S. dollars from Asian Development Bank (ADB) and another 150 million dollars from World Bank. The implementation of the project will require another 250 million dollars. Representatives of ADB, World Bank, Japan, Canada and United Kingdom will attend the donors meeting scheduled to be held between 27 and 30 March next in Dhaka. The Customs duties and taxes on imported materials in case authorities opt for prestressed concrete bridge will be around Tk 750 crore. If they go for steel bridge, the duties will be around Tk, 500 crore.

The breakdown of the cost of the project has been worked out as bridge—285 million dollars, river training—139 million dollars, road approaches—49 million dollars, railway approaches—72 million dollars and 20 million dollars for supervision. The maintenance of the project, when completed is expected to be entrusted with the Jamuna Bridge Authority through amendment of the ordinance.

Meanwhile, the government has realised Taka 140 crore through levies on different utility services and fixed deposits in banks.

#### **PRC Aid for Shambuganj Bridge**

46001416 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*  
in English 17 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Mr Ni Zhifu, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and special envoy of China, left Dhaka on Thursday for Singapore en route to Beijing at the end of a 3-day visit to Bangladesh, reports BSS.

Mr Ni, who led a 13-member delegation, was given hearty send-off by the deputy prime minister and political adviser to the president, Kazi Zafar Ahmed, at the Zia International Airport.

Talking to BSS on the eve of his departure, Mr Ni Zhifu described the visit as "most impressive and fruitful" and hoped that the existing bond of friendship between Bangladesh and China would further consolidate in future on the basis of mutual respect and interest.

He said now his government would take up construction of a second bridge—Shambuganj bridge—over the old Brahmaputra river near Mymensingh town in October next.

Mr Ni Zhifu said that engineer and technicians of the Heilongjiang province of China, who have constructed the Buriganga bridge, would also be entrusted with the task of completing the Shambuganj bridge.

### **INDIA**

#### **Gandhi Addresses Exporters Convention, Describes New Plans**

46001391 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
16 Mar 89 p 8

[Article: "Cabinet Panel To Remove Export Hurdles"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 15 (UNI)—The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today announced the setting up of a sub-committee of the Cabinet committee on exports to remove irritants that still exist in boosting exports.

The committee, to be headed by the commerce minister, Mr Dinesh Singh, will consist of the finance minister, Mr S. B. Chavan, and the industries minister, Mr J. Vengala Rao.

Mr Gandhi said on an experimental basis, the Cabinet committee could meet leading exporters for their views on export promotion measures to be adopted by the government.

Mr Gandhi was delivering the valedictory address of the national convention of exports, organised by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) here this evening. The commerce minister, Mr Dinesh Singh, also attended the function.

Mr Gandhi said the sub-committee would ensure that all matters were resolved at one point without any scope for "subversive" activity within the ministries after the Cabinet committee finalised matters such as providing concessions.

The Prime Minister also announced the setting up of trade centres in the capital and major cities in the country to disseminate information about India's potential in the exports field. He hoped that it would not take long to set up such centres.

Mr Gandhi regretted that the big business houses had not responded, as much as the government desired, to the drive for accelerating exports. It was the small sector that had responded, he said, adding that the big houses should gear themselves to meet the challenge.

Mr Gandhi wanted the big houses to develop indigenous technology to supplement export efforts instead of banking on imported technology. "Here is a field where you have to show your merit since the small scale sector cannot do so for want of resources," he said.

The Prime Minister hoped that the measures taken so far would stimulate the industry to deal in a more competitive manner in the world market.

The industry as a whole should change its narrow vision of balance of payment position while talking of exports. "The question is whether you are courageous enough to come out and face the international challenge," Mr Gandhi said.

The Prime Minister asked that when India could make a dent in the political field in the past 40 years why cannot it do so in the economic field as well.

"The economy has not moved as it should have," he observed. In the changing world scenario, he said, exploitation of stronger economy over the weaker economy was growing. At the same time economic grouping by the big powers was accentuating the situation. This, according to him, was blatant protectionism.

Earlier, in his welcome address, the FICCI president, Mr Rohit C. Mehta, said an unpredictable increase in imports had upset the foreign exchange budget.

The incoming president, Mr Raunaq Singh, said export targets should be properly defined in short and long term perspectives.

Mr Rahul Bajaj, Mr S. S. Nadkarni, Mr D. N. Davar and Mr A. M. Khusro presented reports on the working sessions.

### **Delhi Concerned Over MP's Appearance on U.S.**

TV

46001402 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
9 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Sandhya Jain: "Jethmalani Took Part in Anti-India Telecast"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 8—The presence of the Janata Dal MP [Member of Parliament] and criminal lawyer, Mr Ram Jethmalani, on an American television programme where predictions were made about the assassination of the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi and the establishment of "Khalistan," has caused concern in government circles.

The interview has come to light in the wake of the furore caused by Mr Rajiv Gandhi's statement in Parliament on February 27 that the non-Left Opposition parties were supporting Mr Ram Jethmalani's espousal of the demand for an independent state of "Khalistan." At the time of the interview, in November 1987, Mr Jethmalani was not an MP.

A member of the Indian community in the United States has drawn attention to the interview granted by Mr Jethmalani to the television network, Third World Broadcasting, during a visit in November 1987. According to intelligence sources, Third World Broadcasting is believed to have received funds from the Pakistani military establishment and many Sikh extremists have been given prominence on this network.

During the course of the interview on November 22, 1987, Mr Jethmalani criticised the then newly-adopted Terrorists and Disruptive Activities Act, 1987 as "a negation of democracy." He said, "No democracy should have draconian laws in peacetime." He was, however, silent about the role being played by terrorists in Punjab.

Moreover, in the interview, Mr Jethmalani totally endorsed the network's view of India's hostility to Pakistan, but made no reference to Pakistani interference in India. He advocated a no-war pact with Pakistan and called for India's signing of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

He had said: "We are out on a course of mutual destruction. I am of the opinion that India must sign a no-war pact with Pakistan and also sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Creating mass hysteria against Pakistan is reflective of Rajiv Gandhi's domestic insecurity. Weak rulers have already resorted to creating mass hysteria to strengthen their own position."

Stating that the communal situation in India was not too bad on the whole, he alleged that "investigation does reveal the complicity of police and officers" in the Meerut killings. Mr Jethmalani did not say which investigation made such a revelation.

### **Reportage on 14th Congress of Communist Party of India**

#### **Gupta, Rao at Opening Session**

46001375 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
7 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Calcutta, March 6—The CPI [Communist Party of India] deputy general secretary, Mr Indrajit Gupta, today called upon the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] leaders to work out the modalities for the unity of the two parties. "The unity of the two parties is now a life and death question for the masses of the country," he added.

While placing the draft political resolution at the open session of the party's 14th congress at the Salt Lake stadium, Mr Gupta said: "Common people today are raising the question on how things could have been different had there been a single communist party in India." He said 25 years had passed since the split and a time has come when it has become necessary to discuss the "reunification of the communist movement."

Mr Gupta pointed out that the unity move, however, does not necessarily mean that there has to be a "merger" between the two parties. He said: "Whenever we have raised the question of unity, the CPI(M) have turned it down by saying that it was not interested in a merger between the two parties. Merger is not in the agenda. We do not think that a merger can come within a day or two. We want joint programmes and unity of the communist movement."

Referring to the changes that were sweeping across the socialist countries, particularly in the Soviet Union, Mr Gupta wondered how the CPI and the CPI(M) could keep silent. "Shall we sit behind closed doors and not talk to each other," he asked.

The thrust of Mr Gupta's speech was on the unity of the two communist parties. Other speakers, including the party's National Council member, Mr N.K. Krishnan, in his speech also stressed on the need for the reunification of the two to strengthen the communist movement in the country.

#### **Call To Heal the Damage**

Mr Gupta said that his party does not agree with the CPI(M) general secretary, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad's view that the issue of unity between the two parties should not be discussed in the press. He said the issue should also be discussed in the left circles for "healing the damage done to the communist movement by the



split in the party." He, however, agreed with Mr Namboodiripad that the leaders of both parties should refrain from attacking each other by giving statements in the Press.

The CPI leader pointed out that question of unity does not depend anymore on the personal fancy of any particular leader as a time has come when people in general believe that "a big push" could be given to change the situation. "We believe the CPI(M) comrades will not be averse to the idea of having a friendly dialogue with us to identify issues on which we differ and those on which we don't," he added. He made an appeal to the CPI(M) to respond to the call and said: "Let us behave like matured political parties and not be against holding a dialogue for the unity of the communist movement." He said: "Something may come out of these dialogues, something may not, but we are determined to go ahead in that direction."

Criticising the Congress(I) at the Centre, Mr Gupta pointed out that all the well-meaning economic policies of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs Indira Gandhi were today being "reversed" by Mr Rajiv Gandhi. He also charged Mr Gandhi for pursuing a "policy of appeasement" with the communal and fundamentalist forces for electoral gains. He said that people in the country now wanted a change as the present Congress(I) government at the centre was pursuing "anti-people" and "anti-worker" policies. He urged the left forces to come forward to form a front compromising, the left, democratic and secular forces to replace the Rajiv Gandhi government at the Centre.

The party's general secretary, Mr C Rajeswar Rao, expressed his satisfaction at Mr Gandhi's decision to sustain the "progressive" foreign policies that had been pursued by his predecessors, but strongly criticised him for his "anti-democratic" policies. He also cautioned the people on the rise of communal, and fundamentalist forces.

#### **Statement on Punjab, More Rao**

46001375 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
7 Mar 89 p 9

[Excerpts] Calcutta, March 6—As a political initiative for resolving the Punjab crisis was overdue, the Centre's decision to release Jodhpur detenus is a welcome step, the Communist Party of India said today.

In a statement issued at Somnath Lahiri Nagar here where the 14th party congress was inaugurated, the national council secretary, Mr Avtar Singh Malhotra said the CPI [Communist Party of India] had for long been demanding a political solution to the Punjab problem through consensus. For this the release of the Jodhpur prisoners and punishment of the guilty in the November 1984 riots were necessary to restore public confidence in the administration.

Mr. Malhotra, however, doubted whether the Prime Minister was serious about punishment for the guilty suspected to have been involved in the November 1984 communal riots. His statement could be only an "eye wash" since the prominent among the suspected got away "scot free."

Mr. Malhotra said the Prime Minister's claim of breaking the nexus between terrorists and fundamentalists "did not correspond to the reality and may be a smoke-screen to have opportunistic compromises with the fundamentalist forces."

The situation in Punjab was grave. The terrorists, aided by U.S. imperialists and Pakistani military circles, were claiming the lives of innocent people. Political leaders opposed to them were also killed. The Prime Minister's statement "smacked of complacency" and was aimed at misleading the people, Mr Malhotra said.

An all-party meeting at the national level should be held without delay and the Government should, at the same time, start a dialogue with other political parties for reaching a consensus to end the stalemate in Punjab. [passage omitted]

In his inaugural address, the general secretary, Mr C. Rajeswara Rao, referred to the "anti-democratic, economic and domestic policies" of the Rajiv Government and the hardship it had caused to the common people.

Mr Rao hoped that the recent visit of the Prime Minister to China would help foster closer ties with that country so that the two nations could play their role in Asia.

#### **8 Mar Morning Session, Press Briefed**

46001375 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
8 Mar 89 p 15

[Excerpts] Calcutta, March 7—The CPI [Communist Party of India] today expressed its reservations towards the National Front when the deputy general secretary of the party, Mr Indrajit Gupta, said the Front was fast losing its credibility because of the anti-people policies of the constituent state governments.

Urging them to mend their ways, he felt if they continued to behave as at present, it would be a great help to the Congress in the coming Lok Sabha elections.

Mr Gupta, who was briefing newsmen on the discussions at the CPI congress here, also said in reply to a question that the CPI had not projected the Janata Dal president, Mr V.P. Singh, as the future prime minister. Referring to the pro-corporate sector measures taken by Mr Singh while he was the Union finance minister, the CPI leader said: "We do not believe that monopolies would go away if Mr Singh becomes the prime minister."

Mr Gupta admitted, however, that Mr Singh had organised raids against big industrialists to unearth duty evasion and black money. Pressure was brought to bear on the Prime Minister to remove Mr Singh to stop these raids. He also pointed out that Mr Singh had not repeated the pro-liberalisation policy, which he had introduced as the Union finance minister since he left the Congress.

He said the CPI was of the opinion that the National Front should adopt a democratic programme and ask its constituent state governments to implement them without any delay. This alone could restore its credibility. The statement was obviously in reference to the TDP [Telugu Desam Party] government in Andhra Pradesh which, according to the CPI, was following an anti-people policy.

Although he said the CPI would finalise its electoral strategy only when the election was announced, he made it clear that it would have no electoral adjustment with the National Front if the latter came to an understanding with the BJP. It would neither support a National Front-BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] government at the national level as the CPI considered the BJP "inimical to the interests of the country." [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, Mr K.M. Makhamov, head of the Soviet delegation for the CPI congress, said "good relations between the Soviet Union, India and China would have a beneficial effect on the future of Asia and the world as a whole."

In his address at the conference, he said: "We in the Soviet Union can only commend the efforts of India and China to secure mutual understanding and co-operation in their bilateral relations. Soviet-Chinese relations, too, are close to full normalisation. The understanding to hold a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in May is highly important."

Interestingly, while the central committee of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] has sent "fraternal greetings" to the delegates of the CPI congress, the central committee of the Chinese Communist Party, in its message, has extended "congratulations" and "great respects" to all members of the CPI.

Mr Jiang Guanhua, Chinese representative, told the delegates that "we have noticed with satisfaction that there is a new development of the traditional friendship between China and India."

#### **Resolutions on Security, Budget**

46001375 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
8 Mar 89 p 3

[Excerpt] The CPI [Communist Party of India], at its 14th party congress in Calcutta on Tuesday, praised the Congress(I) Government at the Centre for its international policies and at the same time criticized it for its

economic policies. The congratulations and the criticism came in the form of two resolutions—one "on intensifying the worldwide struggle to carry forward the new successes for peace and global all-embracing security" and the other "on the Budget and price rise."

The first resolution said: "India's policy of peace, non-alignment and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is of decisive importance for the future of peace, security and national independence in the Asian-Pacific region of the world." Hailing the Indo-Soviet treaty on friendship and cooperation, the resolution said it "contributes towards the united efforts of the socialist and non-aligned countries on the most urgent world issues."

Supporting the peace initiative of President Gorbachev, the resolution blamed the USA for threatening peace and condemned the "forces of imperialism, and reaction to destabilize India." Interestingly, this resolution does not mention Mr Rajiv Gandhi by name.

On the other hand, the resolution on the Budget, which mentioned Mr Gandhi by name, said that he was continuing with his "anti-people" policies of "liberalization, pampering of big business and elitist consumption." The policy of liberal imports had led to balance of payments deficits and depletion of foreign exchange reserves, it said. The policy of dependence on foreign loans and loans from private foreign banks is proving to be "counter-productive" and the picture of the economy is "gloomy."

Later, briefing reporters on the proceedings of the party congress, Mr Indrajit Gupta, deputy general secretary of the CPI, said discussion on the draft political resolution, the draft organizational report and a report on the working of the party in the past three years would continue till Wednesday. The last two of the three documents were introduced on Tuesday. The first report had been introduced on Monday. Over 250 amendments to the political resolution have been received.

Talking about the current political scene, Mr Gupta said elections might not bring about the changes in economic and political systems the CPI desired. He thought that the position would be "a disagreeable one" for the CPI if the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] joined any possible Government by the National Front at the Centre. He said there were people in the Congress(I) who were "genuinely secular" and were welcome to join in a common fight against communal forces.

Mr Gupta made it clear that the CPI harboured no illusions about the National Front. "Who says monopoly and big business will be curbed by a Government led by the Front?" he asked. Mr Gupta also recalled that some of the measures taken by Mr V.P. Singh when he was the Finance Minister, such as the long-term fiscal policy, had been opposed by the CPI. But, he also mentioned that

Mr Singh had incurred the wrath of the big business houses by conducting raids on them. He demanded that the Opposition parties adopted a democratic programme.

On the question of unity of the CPI and the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], Mr Gupta said that the details of such a proposal would be worked out by one of the elected bodies after the party congress approved the general line being suggested by its leaders. [passage omitted]

#### **Soviet, PRC Delegates**

46001375 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
8 Mar 89 p 4

[Excerpts] Calcutta, March 7—The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) will play no role in bringing about a unity between the CPI [Communist Party of India] and the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist].

Mr K.M. Mahkamov, leader of the Soviet delegation to the 14th congress of the CPI, told newsmen today that his party would welcome any move taken by their counterparts here, but would not take any initiative in bringing them together. He said the question of unity between the two was their "internal matter" and the CPSU would not like to interfere in it. The CPSU was in favour of giving the communist parties the world over to pursue their own "independent line" in resolving their internal problems.

Asked whether his party would welcome the unity move of the two even though one of their main objectives was to replace Mr Rajiv Gandhi at the Centre, he said "I don't think the reunification of the two communist parties is to replace Mr Gandhi's government."

In reply to a question whether the normalisation of relations between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China (CPC) was due to the initiative taken by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, Mr Mahkamov pointed out that before the policy of perestroika suggested by Mr Gorbachev, stagnation had set in all spheres including the country's foreign policy. He said one of the main emphasis of perestroika was on the foreign policy and to improve relations with the neighbouring countries. He, however, pointed out that improving relations between two countries does not depend on any particular side alone as the other side also has to respond positively. He said the Chinese leadership was now responding much more to the initiative taken by the Soviets. [passage omitted]

In the morning session, the delegation from the Communist Party of China also addressed the delegates. In his speech, the leader of the delegation, Mr Jiang Guanghai, said the economy of China had developed substantially since it adopted reforms and the "open policy." He said the living standard of people have also improved markedly following the new policies and reforms. He

expressed satisfaction over the improved relations between India and China and pointed out that the Chinese communists would like to put up joint efforts with their Indian counterparts to make new contribution and develop the relation between the two.

#### **More on Budget Resolution**

46001375 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
8 Mar 89 p 9

[Excerpt] Calcutta, March 7—Criticising the Centre's budgetary proposals for 1989-90 which envisaged additional imports amounting to Rs. 1,287 crores in the wake of recent increases in administered price of coal, steel, etc., and upward revision of railway freight tariff, the week-long 14th congress of the Communist Party of India, being held here after four decades, has urged the people to launch a vigorous struggle to protest against the inflationary impact of the budget and Rajiv Gandhi Government's anti-people policies which had added to the woes of the common man.

A resolution passed by the congress has expressed concern over the inflationary potential of the uncovered budget deficit of Rs. 7,930 crores and weakening of the economy consequent upon continuing emphasis on import liberalisation and concessions to elitist consumption by pampering the "big business." Liberal imports had only widened the gap in the country's trade gap and depleted its foreign exchange reserves to alarming levels.

The resolution has also called attention to the Centre's growing dependence on foreign loans, both from international institutions and private agencies, which had clearly become "counter productive."

"In 1988 India's foreign debt servicing came to nearly 55 percent of the inflow of overseas loans. This process will be further accentuated in the coming years when India will be required to pay more and more by way of debt servicing," it cautioned.

Referring to the economic situation, the resolution said the picture was gloomy since despite record farm production last year prices were rising while the Government was unable to contain the increases in prices of essential commodities like wheat, rice, edible oil, etc., supplied through the public distribution system.

'An eyewash': The prices had gone up by another ten percent as a result of the latest budgetary proposals. The reliefs announced by the Union Finance Minister for the poorer classes and the Government's poverty alleviation programmes were unsatisfactory as they offered few reliefs to the beneficiaries and were more in the nature of an eyewash to impress the people in an election year than serious welfare measures, the resolution said. [passage omitted]



### Stagnation in Growth, Press Briefed

46001375 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
9 Mar 89 p 3

[Text] Leaders of the CPI [Communist Party of India] expressed concern on Wednesday over stagnation in its membership strength at its congress being held at Salt Lake Stadium in Calcutta. A review of the organizational report suggested that the party had only itself to blame for failing to enroll new members.

Briefing reporters on the proceedings of the congress during the day, a spokesman of the party said that about 455,000 members were currently enrolled as members of the CPI. During the last congress of the party held in Patna, this figure was 440,000. While the maximum growth has been recorded in Kerala, there has been a fall in total membership in Tamil Nadu.

It was satisfying that there had been a membership growth in Punjab [as printed] even though Communists were the targets of terrorists there, the spokesman said. The party has the largest membership in Bihar—about 120,000—followed by Andhra Pradesh. Following a membership drive, the figure for Andhra Pradesh is likely to increase. In West Bengal, the figure is 3,400.

The spokesman said the CPI had a larger number of members than the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] during the time of the Patna congress. But, now the CPI(M) has overtaken the CPI. "The support the party gets during mass movements is not being translated into membership," the spokesman said.

The party congress, in a resolution on the activities of the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development, felt the recent NABARD [National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development] directive that concessional loans should be stopped and outstanding dues should be collected from peasants at a 10 percent interest rate was "irrational and highly reprehensible." Interest on agricultural loans should not exceed 6 percent, the resolution said. A resolution on the rights of women was adopted, commemorating International Women's Day.

A resolution on unemployment expressed concern over the growing number of jobless in the country and demanded that employment be made a fundamental rights under the Constitution.

In another resolution the congress welcomed the formation of a Palestine state. The tripartite agreement on Namibia was also welcome, together with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

A number of foreign delegates to the congress spoke during the day, the spokesman said. They included delegates from Vietnam, GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria,

Afghanistan, Pakistan, Poland and Cuba. Discussions on the political resolution, the review report, and the organizational report would continue simultaneously, the spokesman said.

### Stance of Soviets, Chinese

46001375 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English  
9 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Ashis Barman]

[Excerpt] Calcutta, March 8—Fraternal party delegates, headed by the Soviet and Chinese Communist representatives have supported the call for Communist unity in India given by the ongoing 14th party congress of CPI [Communist Party of India]. This support was articulated in their discussions with the CPI leadership.

What has intrigued the local CPI leaders is not the rejection by the present Chinese leadership of the Maoist line of splitting the Communist movement all over the world, during the mid-sixties including India, but the assertion of Chinese party leader Jiang Guanghai that the propounders of the line of splitting the Communist movement were "counter revolutionaries," later thrown out by the Chinese party.

The current thinking of the Chinese party leadership, as expressed by Mr Guanghai, who himself is a central committee member, underline the stunning changes that have occurred in the world view of the Chinese party.

This turn towards friendly, cooperative discussions of problems, it is held, would help pave the way to normalisation of relations not only between India and China but simultaneously between China and the Soviet Union, followed by normalisation of other disputes and confrontations between China, Vietnam and Kampuchea.

Publicly both the Soviet representative K.M. Mahkamov and Chinese leader Jiang Guanghai have welcomed the CPI move for ensuring Communist unity. They however added that it is for the two Indian Communist parties to resolve their differences in a friendly way. Neither the Soviet nor the Chinese parties, committed to acknowledge the independence of all Communist parties in the world, have any direct role to play to further the envisaged unity.

They hold that the specific problems connected with the Indian situation and the related difficulties stemming from these specifics, can only be properly resolved through the concrete experiences being faced with the two parties here and by way of their mutual dialogue and joint actions.

It is believed that this international commendation of the moves for Communist unity here, would help strengthen the propounders of unity in both the CPI and CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist]. [passage omitted]



### **Afghan Delegate's Remarks**

46001375 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English  
9 Mar 89 p 6

[Text] Calcutta, March 8—The leader of the Afghan delegation to the CPI [Communist Party of India] congress said here on Wednesday that his country would be able to rebuff any military intervention by Pakistan, who have intensified direct and indirect support to the Mujahideen rebels.

Mr Niaz Mohammad Momand, politbureau member of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan said at a press conference that his country now has an army of half a million and that the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan]'s morale is higher than ever in maintaining the country's sovereignty.

Deprecating in particular the Pakistani military's interference in Afghan affairs by sending army men to aid the rebels and by its unprecedented military buildup along the border with Afghanistan, Mr Momand said that it is evident that the military clique has more political influence than Ms Benazir Bhutto.

The PDPA leader said that after the enforcement of the Geneva accords, of which not a single item has been implemented by the United States or Pakistan, more than 600 armed attacks have been carried out by rebels against Afghan armed forces in residential areas.

He said that the main problem in the country now apart from rebel attacks, is that of transportation of food and essential supplies. An unprecedented severe winter with snowfall has compounded the transportation problem caused by rebel attacks.

Meanwhile, the CPI Congress in a resolution on Afghanistan urged the implementation of the Geneva accords by all parties concerned and expressed admiration at the manner in which the people of Afghanistan and members of the PDPA who together with the Afghan armed forces have been defending their country against the US-backed Mujahideen attacks.

"The propaganda that the Government of Najibullah would collapse once the Soviet troops are withdrawn, has been belied," the CPI observed.

### **National Front, Pakistan Delegates**

46001375 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
10 Mar 89 p 10

[Excerpts] Calcutta, March 9—The last two days' discussions at the 14th congress of the CPI [Communist Party of India] being held here show divided opinions among the delegates on the nature of the National Front and the Congress.

The delegates from Andhra Pradesh have challenged the party's central leadership's line of alliance with the National Front. They say the chairman of the National Front, Mr N.T. Rama Rao, who is heading the TDP [Telugu Desam Party] government in Andhra Pradesh, is following undemocratic, casteist and corrupt practices. This view is being described as the Andhra line.

Mr Indrajit Gupta, deputy general secretary of the CPI, while moving the draft political resolution, made it clear that the CPI would go for an electoral alliance with the National Front only if the latter refrained from having any tie-up with communal parties such as the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. [passage omitted]

The delegates in favour of an alliance pointed out that it was for the same reason that the draft political resolution of the party had urged the National Front to establish its credibility by asking its constituent state governments to implement pro-people measures, observe democratic norms and fight corrupt practices. Only such measures could make it a "better alternative to the Congress government."

Mr Gupta had also said that the CPI congress was not the place to finalise the party's electoral strategy for the Lok Sabha poll. He indicated that the party would like to keep its options open in view of the fluid nature of the political situation in the country.

Mr Gupta was also critical of the non-secular elements in the Congress leadership, which were following an appeasement policy with Hindu, Muslim and Sikh fundamentalist forces for winning votes.

Delegates from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar felt, however, that the strength of the secular elements in the Congress in their states was sizable. And since the Hindu fundamentalist forces were very strong in those two states, particularly in Uttar Pradesh, they would have to fight these forces, if necessary, with the active support of the secular elements in the Congress.

Mr Sarju Pandey (Uttar Pradesh) said that if the Vishwa Hindu Parishad tried to occupy the Babri Masjid in accordance with its plan, CPI workers might have to prevent them physically.

When newsmen pointed out to Mr Gupta that while he said that the Rajiv government was following an "appeasement policy" towards the fundamentalist forces, the draft political resolution had described the Congress as a secular force, the deputy general secretary said that if the draft had created any confusion, it could be removed through amendments during the discussion. Incidentally, Mr Gupta's view on the question is almost similar to the CPM's Marxist Communist Party]. [passage omitted]

Addressing the delegates, Mr Jam Saqi, a politburo member of the Communist Party of Pakistan, said that holding of the general election and the setting up of an elected government in Pakistan after 11 years of military rule was a reflection of the changed world situation. He warned, however, that democracy was yet to be consolidated in Pakistan and the danger from the fundamentalists very much there.

The head of the three-man Chinese delegation to the congress Mr Jiang Guanghua, told newsmen here today that it had not been correct on the part of the CPC [Communist Party of China] to support the naxalite brand of the Indian communists in the past.

Clarifying his statement, Mr Jiang said that during the cultural revolution "our party and the government both were in an abnormal state." So something done at that time might have been improper and incorrect.

#### **Agrarian Policy Scored**

46001375 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
10 Mar 89 p 7

[Text] In a note expressing dissent, Mr N. Rajasekhar Reddy, a CPI [Communist Party of India] leader, has criticized the chapter on agrarian situation incorporated in the draft political resolution of the party meant for discussion at the 14th party congress.

The authors of the draft have classified those who hold 10 hectares of land as big landlords, the class that the CPI "will have to fight in the rural areas," according to Mr Reddy. The authors seem to have given up the generally accepted categories in Marxist literature of poor, middle and rich peasants and "accepted the Government of India's classification," says Mr Reddy in an article in the *NEW AGE*, the party weekly.

The "10-hectare wallahs" make up 2.4 percent of the rural household and own 23 percent of the land. Those who own less than two hectares own 26.2 percent of the land. The authors of the draft, says Mr Reddy, found only two strata of landowners "big landlords owning 10 hectares and above and poor and small who own 26 percent of the land."

Anybody familiar with Indian villages can see that those with 10 hectares of land can even be middle peasants if the land is unirrigated, as 70 to 80 percent of the land in the country is, Mr Reddy explained.

Yet another article in a section entitled "Party Congress Discussion" says that the party has to give up its "formula-like narrow attitude" and see things in their totality. It refers to the industrial collaborations with Japan and the West, the large-scale capitalistic development that encompass agriculture and points out that no party is organizing any kind of "mass people's movements."

It is, therefore, imperative for the CPI "to take clear-cut independent initiatives," the article by Mr Anil Rajimwale says.

A third article that opposes the Rajiv Government policies, however, does not believe that unity with the National Front or the Janata Dal is desirable. For despite Rajiv Gandhi's many failures, "he is conducting the foreign policies of our country very well while the foreign policies of these Opposition parties is not clear," it states and adds that "Mr V.P. Singh is not a stable person. That is why the National Front and the Janata Dal are talking about having adjustments with the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and Left parties."

#### **Program Debate in Abeyance**

46001375 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
10 Mar 89 p 9

[Excerpt] The 14th congress of the Communist Party of India [CPI], now being held at the Salt Lake Stadium, decided on Thursday to keep in abeyance the debate on a crucial change in the party programme which several senior members wanted to initiate at the congress. It will be taken up at a special session of the national conference of the party, the time for which has not been finalized.

In fact, this debate could have been the most interesting and significant for the simple reason that never in the past 25 years, the CPI had debated a possible change in the party programme. Mr Satpal Dang, veteran leader from Punjab and member of the party's central executive committee, moved an amendment to the draft organizational-political report, suggesting that the party redefine the current stage of the revolution in India as "people's democratic," instead of "national democratic," as accepted now.

The suggested change would mean not only significant deviations from the party's alignment with the national bourgeoisie but also its assessment of the class alliance at the current stage of the revolution. The present party programme, which characterized the transitory stage as that of the national democratic revolution, assumed that the national bourgeoisie would join peasants and workers in leading the revolution. Hence the CPI's closer relationship with the Congress—the party of the national bourgeoisie—until very recently.

But, as Mr Dang said on Thursday, the national bourgeoisie had failed to fulfil the expectations by compromising with the feudal elements. "Any serious party would like to have a look at the assessment it had made 25 years ago," he remarked. The change in the party programme, as suggested by Mr Dang, also seemed to fall in line with the increasingly strident anti-Congress(I) postures of the CPI in recent years. He has been advocating this change for some time, as was evident in his

article in a recent issue of the party's monthly journal, PARTY LIFE. According to him, there were many others in the party who shared his view on the party programme.

The debate is equally significant on another count. The proposed change in the party programme, if endorsed, will bring the CPI ideologically much closer to the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] which has always characterized the current stage of the revolution in India as "people's democratic." In a sense, the CPI's acceptance of the "people's democratic" programme will naturally be interpreted as a vindication of the CPI(M)'s line. Mr Dang admitted that his line would "narrow down" the differences with the CPI(M). But, he said at the same time that there were other differences between the two parties, as in the assessment of the role of foreign capital in the country.

Mr Indrajit Gupta, deputy general secretary of the party, sought to avoid direct comment on the debate, saying that there could be "hair-splitting" arguments on the issue of the party programme. He, however, maintained that there were no major differences between the CPI and the CPI(M) on the nature of class alliances. [passage omitted]

#### **Division Over Telugu Desam**

46001375 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
10 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] Calcutta, March 9—The CPI [Communist Party of India] congress is divided over the issue of enlisting the Telugu Desam party's support in its fight against the Congress(I).

While a section of the party leaders taking part in the deliberations today, led by the party's Andhra Pradesh unit, suggested that party should fight the bourgeois Opposition parties like the TDP [Telugu Desam Party] along with the Congress, the other section led by the Bengal leaders argued that the Congress(I) was the "main enemy" and any attempt to fight the bourgeois Opposition parties now would only help the Congress(I) to overcome its present crisis.

The argument that the TDP should not be enlisted in the front of the Left, democratic and secular forces to fight the Congress(I) was initiated by Mr N. Giri Prasad, secretary of the party's Andhra Pradesh unit. He pointed out that the TDP government led by Mr N.T. Rama Rao was pursuing "anti people" and "anti worker" policies and was involved in a number of corruption charges. Therefore, the party should fight it along with the Congress(I). He also pointed out that the CPI's decision to launch a series of movements against the TDP in Andhra Pradesh had helped in strengthening and expanding the party's organisation in the state.

Supporting this argument, many other leaders, including Mr Satyapal Dang and Mr Perry Ramesh Chandra, cited the example of Kerala where the party's decision to fight both the communal forces and the Congress(I) had helped it win the elections. They pointed out that, therefore, the party should fight both the Congress(I) and the TDP and other bourgeois parties at the national level.

#### **Resolutions on Labor, Economy, Communalism**

46001375 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
10 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Debasish Chatterji]

[Text] Calcutta, March 9—The 14th CPI [Communist Party of India] congress today urged its trade union organizations to unitedly resist the Government's so-called liberalisation policy which was leading to increased industrial sickness and joblessness.

A resolution passed on Thursday, noting that the situation on the industrial and labour front is 'explosive,' said that the Government's policies were creating a crisis in the economy.

Observing that by the end of 1987, as many as 1.70 lakh industrial units all over the country were closed on account of 'sickness,' the CPI condemned the Government's measures against this as 'half-hearted and ineffective.'

Similarly, lockouts are being increasingly used against the workers to browbeat them into accepting the employers' demands, including curtailment of existing rights and benefits, redundancy, increased workload and labour rationalisation. But big multinational companies including Bata, Metal Box, Hindustan Lever, GKW and Philips are resorting to such methods to threaten the workers, it was noted.

Lockouts in recent times have accounted for sixty percent of the total mandays lost in the country, the resolution stated.

In the economic resolution, the CPI congress has urged the Government to forsake its soft stance towards the multinationals and discharge its responsibility by securing adequate compensation for the Bhopal gas victims and to give exemplary punishment to Union Carbide for their genocidal crime against the people of Bhopal and of India.

The fact that Carbide officials have welcomed the settlement even as the company's shares value rose by ten percent in New York shortly after the Supreme Court settlement was publicised, is evidence of 'behind-the-scenes' agreement between the Indian Government and the U.S. multinational, the CPI charged.

The congress exhorted all its units and members to intensify the fight against communalism, religious fundamentalism and secessionism, even as the UP [Uttar Pradesh] unit of the party has vowed to physically combat such forces if required so, in the footsteps of their Punjab comrades.

In a resolution, the congress deprecated the non-implementation of most of the recommendations of the national integration council by Congress as well as non-Left-non-Congress governments all over the country.

Besides, it was noted that the policies of the Government which does not provide employment opportunities to the youth and which concentrates all powers in its own hands leading to regional disparities, have deepened people's discontentment and spurred the growth of divisive forces all over the country.

The celebration of the 100th birth anniversary of RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh] founder Hedgewar by Government schools and colleges throughout the land, with teachers and politicians of the Congress and other bourgeois parties being present, has added grist to the communal mill, the CPI observed.

Apart from Hindu revivalist forces in Uttar Pradesh, Muslim fundamentalists in Jammu and Kashmir and 'Khalistani' fundamentalists, certain reactionary movements in the country are attempting to deny reservations to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and are creating conflicts among the country's youth.

The CPI ranks have also been warned against the regional movements engineered by many chauvinist and divisive forces to disrupt the movements of the working class.

In another resolution, the congress welcomed the victory of the people of Pakistan in their struggle for the restoration of democracy in their country.

The successful completion of the elections to the national assembly and provincial assemblies and the formation of the government headed by Pakistan People's Party leader Benazir Bhutto has great significance not only for Pakistan but for the entire subcontinent, the CPI stated.

#### **Gupta on Amendments**

46001375 *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*  
11 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] The Communist Party of India [CPI] seems to have kept its options open on its relations with the Opposition parties at the State and national levels. At the end of the discussions on the political resolution at the party's 14th congress at Salt Lake Stadium on Friday, it expressed cautious optimism at the emergence of the Opposition forces, while reserving the right to criticize and fight "anti-people and undemocratic" measures of State Governments run by some of these parties.

The political resolution, with its main thrust on ousting the Congress(I) Government at the Centre, was adopted unanimously, Mr Indrajit Gupta, deputy general secretary, told a Press conference in the afternoon. But the congress adopted an amendment to the resolution calling upon "all Left parties to oppose and fight the anti-people and undemocratic actions and measures" of Governments run by non-Congress(I) and non-Left parties. But this should be done "in a manner that would lead to the strengthening of Left and democratic forces and the isolation of the Congress(I)."

Another important amendment that was accepted suggested that the Left parties intervene to force Opposition groups, such as the Janata Dal, to spell out their policies more specifically and to shed their ambivalence on communal, casteist and other issues. Mr Gupta said the congress endorsed the party's "positive attitude" towards these Opposition groups, although there were "elements in some of these parties who are soft towards communalism, casteism and who do not spell out their foreign policy directions." The reference obviously was to the constituents of the Janata Dal, though Mr Gupta did not name any party.

The two amendments together sought to steer the party clear of its embarrassing relations with parties such as the Telugu Desam, with whose Government in Andhra Pradesh the CPI has been at loggerheads for a long time.

Even in Karnataka, the CPI was not happy with the style of functioning of the Government under the Janata Party and now under the Janata Dal. Mr M.S. Krishnan, secretary of the Karnataka unit of the party, told reporters that the CPI had even demanded the resignation of Mr Ramakrishna Hedge while he was the Chief Minister.

In Bihar, where the CPI has the largest State unit, its relations with the Janata Dal constituents are rather unhappy. The congress sought to work out a compromise between the need for combating these parties on the one hand and the national imperative of aligning with them in the fight against the Congress(I) on the other.

In yet another important development during the day's deliberations, the commission set up to process the amendments on the party organization decided to refer the "fundamental changes" proposed by some leaders to the plenary session of the congress. The commission also recommended that the plenary session pass on the matter to the new national council.

In all, about 1,000 delegates took part in the deliberations of the three commissions.

#### **Andhra, Central Lines**

46001375 *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*  
11 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Manini Chatterjee]

[Text] Calcutta, March 10—In a cleverly-worded amendment to the draft political resolution, the CPI [Communist Party of India] leadership today sought to



strike a compromise between the two warring groups in the party loosely termed the "Andhra line" and the "central line."

After four days of battle over the question of the CPI's ties with the bourgeois Opposition in general and the Telugu Desam in particular, the party has decided to allow the Andhra unit to continue its fight against the NTR [N. T. Rama Rao] government while retaining the overall framework of dislodging the Congress(I) from power.

Briefing newsmen today, the CPI deputy general secretary, Mr Indrajit Gupta, said some lines had been added to section 31 of the draft resolution which spoke of the non-Congress(I), non-Left governments. The additional paragraph states: "In regard to non-Left, non-Congress(I) state governments, the Left parties should oppose and resist any anti-democratic and anti-people activities in such a manner that it would lead to the strengthening of Left and democratic forces to isolate the Congress(I)."

The wording of the amendment, which was prepared at a specially-convened meeting of the central executive committee last night, makes it clear that while the CPI will not in any way help the Congress(I), it will not support the activities of the non-Congress(I) parties either. Significantly, both sides were today claiming victory of their respective lines.

The amendment assumes significance in view of the fact that proponents of the "central line" had made a fervent bid to introduce an amendment in order to tone down the Andhra unit's fight against Telugu Desam. The proposed amendment was moved by seven stalwarts of the party, it is learnt. These seven leaders were Mr Jagannath Sarkar, Mr Bishwanath Mukherjee, Mr A.B. Bardhan, Mr Sarju Pandey, Mr Z.A. Ahmed, Mr Indradeep Sinha and Mr P.K. Vasudevan Nair, sources said.

The essence of the amendment was that the party's fight against the non-Congress(I) governments should be toned down since the main battle was against the Congress(I). The proponents of this line wanted the CPI to take a position identical to that of the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] and completely divorce itself from the past softness to the Congress(I).

However, the amendment was not accepted by large sections of the party. Apart from the Andhra unit, the Punjab, Karnataka and Orissa units and sections of the Kerala, Bihar and Bengal units are learnt to have strongly objected to the amendment. Significantly, the veteran Punjab leader, Mr Satyapal Dang, came out in support of the Andhra line tilting the battle in its favour.

Since it became clear that the amendment to further strengthen the "Left" character of the CPI draft was likely to be voted out, the central executive committee

adopted the compromise amendment which appears to have satisfied both the factions in the party and avoided it from reaching near-breaking point.

Though party sources remain tightlipped over the question even at this stage of the congress, it is now likely that Mr C. Rajeswara Rao will be reelected for another term as general secretary. If Mr Rao is elected, it will be clear that the Andhra line has scored a victory. On the other hand, proponents of the Left line will try to get Mr Indrajit Gupta elected since he has adopted a very positive attitude to the non-BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] Opposition.

While the terms Andhra line and central line appear to have gained currency at this congress, the actual struggle is over a much wider question—what the CPI's attitude should be towards the bourgeois Opposition now that it has unanimously decided to fight the Congress(I).

#### More on Andhra

46001375 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English  
12 Mar 89 p 11

[Text] Calcutta, March 11—The CPI [Communist Party of India] envisages a split in the TDP [Telugu Desam Party] government in Andhra Pradesh in view of the internecine differences.

This was stated by Mr Indrajit Gupta, deputy general secretary, today while clarifying an important amendment over the party's attitude towards the non-Congress and non-left state governments, as adopted at the 14th party congress being held here.

Mr Gupta said the struggle being carried on by the CPI in Andhra Pradesh against the anti-people measures of the TDP government would gradually compel the CPM [Marxist Communist Party] to join the movement.

The CPM, while supporting the TDP government, had recently criticized it following Mr Rama Rao's sacking of all his ministers. The party had also objected to the repressive measures adopted by the TDP government in the recent caste war in the coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh.

Citing these examples, Mr Gupta hoped that the CPI struggle would lead to the strengthening of the left, democratic and secular forces and help isolate the Congress as had been envisaged in the amendment to the political resolution.

The amendment had assumed considerable significance as it was an omnibus amendment covering all the non-Congress and non-left state governments.

It did not name any state government and implied that, apart from the state party unit in Andhra Pradesh, those in Haryana and Karnataka would be free to launch struggles against the casteist and undemocratic policies of those state governments.

It was explained that the struggle against these governments would either force them to change their regressive policies or it would bring together other left and democratic forces. The strengthening of the left, democratic and secular forces would naturally help in isolating the Congress, CPI sources said.

Initially, the delegates from Andhra Pradesh focussed the problem of implementing the party central leadership's policy of supporting the National Front.

The state unit of the party was opposing the undemocratic functioning the TDP government which was an important constituent of the National Front.

Later, as the discussion on the draft political resolution progressed at the party congress, the delegates from Haryana, Karnataka, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh also stressed the point made by the Andhra Pradesh delegates.

Simultaneously, a number of amendments were moved demanding that the struggles against the non-Congress and non-left state governments be kept at a low key for the greater interest of left and democratic unity on the all-India plane.

Finally, after much deliberation, the commission on the draft political resolution prepared a carefully-worded omnibus amendment which accommodated both the viewpoints.

#### **Stand on 'Hindu Fundamentalists'**

46001375 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
11 Mar 89 p 3

[Text] The Communist Party of India [CPI] will raise volunteers in U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] to foil any move by "Hindu fundamentalists" to demolish the Babri masjid. Announcing this at a Press conference at the Salt Lake Stadium on Friday, Mr Sarju Pande, secretary of the U.P. State Committee of the CPI, said party volunteers would "physically resist" any such move. He was referring to the threat by the Ram Janambhoomi Mukti Committee to start demolition of the mosque and lay the foundation of a temple on the site in November.

Mr Pande, who was in Calcutta to attend the 14th congress of his party, announced that the CPI would organize a march from Lucknow to Faizabad on April 2 to highlight its viewpoint. The CPI wanted the place to be handed over to the Archaeological Survey of India, unless the Hindus and Muslims reached an agreement on it. The matter could be referred to a special bench of Allahabad High Court.

#### **Ruling**

The CPI condemned the position taken by some leaders of the Visva Hindu Parishad and the Rashtriya Swayam-sevak Sangha that they would not abide by any court ruling. The party argued that any place of worship in the country should be left to the community which controlled it in 1947. There was no temple on the disputed site in Ayoohya till 1949.

Mr Justice Sambali, a former CPI M.P. from U.P., alleged at the Press conference that a former Congress Minister of U.P. headed the Hindu fundamentalists' body, while a former Congress M.P. led the Muslim organization spearheading their campaign. His insinuation was that the Congress(I) was fanning communal passions on both sides for political gains.

He cited several court cases dating from 1885, all of which referred to the place as a mosque. The seed for the controversy, according to him, was sown by a district official "with political ambitions" in 1949 with the building of a small temple adjacent to the mosque.

#### **Stands on Rural Poor, Rushdie, Uttarkhand**

46001375 Calcutta *THE SUNDAY STATESMAN*  
in English 12 Mar 89 p 7

[Text] The 14th congress of the CPI [Communist Party of India] has called upon the rural poor to launch a "militant" struggle to seize vacant plots of land all over the country. In a resolution adopted on the penultimate day of the congress at the Salt Lake Stadium on Saturday, the party said it was "convinced that without militant land occupation struggle the rural poor will not get land." It called upon agricultural workers, tenants, sharecroppers and other sections of the rural poor to fight for their right to land and foil the attacks of landlords and their "senas."

Lamenting the "total failure" of the Congress(I) and "other bourgeois governments" to implement radical land reforms, the resolution expressed the party's shock that about 1.5 million acres of land remained locked in litigation. Both the tenancy laws and the laws on land ceilings, in the party's view, have been a failure except in Kerala and West Bengal. Neither the Centre nor the other bourgeois State governments had done anything to implement the Sixth Plan target of distributing 42.4 lakh acres of cultivatable land lying in waste, 29 lakh acres of Bhoodan land and waste land measuring about 10 crore acres. Besides, lakhs of acres of land continued to be under religious trusts which were "looting the tenants and agricultural labourers in the name of God, religion and charity." The resolution also alleged that in some States landlords, big businessmen, industrialists and some "well-to-do retired officers" had been allowed to occupy lakhs of acres of government land.

In another resolution, the congress condemned the Iranian leader, Ayatollah Khomeini's call for the murder of Mr Salman Rushdie, the author of the controversial book, *Satanic Verses*. While agreeing that there should be freedom for writers to express their opinions without fear or favour, the CPI considered that such freedom should not be used to hurt the feelings of any religious community. But Khomeini's order was "nothing but buttressing international terrorism to satisfy the fundamentalists." The resolution said there was no need for any agitation in India after the book was banned here.

A third resolution called upon the Centre to grant Statehood to "Uttarkhand" comprising nine hill districts of U.P.[Uttar Pradesh]—Almora, Uttarkashi, Pauri-Garhwal, Tehri-Garhwal, Chamoli, Dehra Dun, Nainital, Pithoragarh and Hardwar. Describing the region as the most backward, the resolution said only a full-fledged Statehood would fulfil the aspirations of the people there.

The congress urged the Centre to withdraw the Armed Forces Powers Act from Manipur. In the recent period, a resolution said Assam Rifles men had tortured people and even raped women in the State in the name of fighting insurgency. All democratic and civil rights had been suppressed by the Army "under cover of this Act." The congress felt that the continuation of the Act in a sensitive area would alienate the people from the country's mainstream.

In two significant amendments accepted by the commission on the political resolution, the party accused the Congress(I) of "contributing to the resurgence of communalism" in the country and alleged that "widespread corruption and excesses indulged in by the police and the paramilitary forces have alienated large sections of the people" in Punjab. The congress demanded that the release of Jodhpur detainees be followed up by punishment to the "chief culprits" of the anti-Sikh violence in November, 1984 and solution of other issues in Punjab.

#### **Leadership Issue**

46001375 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
12 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Manini Chatterjee]

[Text] Calcutta, March 11—Considerable pressure is being exerted on Mr C. Rajeswara Rao by large sections of the party to continue as general secretary of the CPI [Communist Party of India] despite Mr Rao's reluctance to retain the post, it is learnt.

The pressure on Mr Rao to continue is now linked with the fierce struggle in the party over its attitude towards the bourgeois Opposition parties and Mr Indrajit Gupta's open support to the group which wants closer ties

with the Opposition parties rather than an "independent" line. The election of the general secretary will take place on Monday and be disclosed on March 14, two days after the conclusion of the congress.

Even though the CPI leadership has managed to arrive at a facesaving formula of compromise which allows both the Andhra line and the "central line" to publicly claim victory, proponents of the two lines continue to be bitter about each other.

It was clear at the party congress today that far from resolving the issue, yesterday's amendment to the draft political resolution had only accentuated inner party differences and the struggle will continue in the coming months. Moreover, all other issues before the congress such as communist unity, discussion on the revised party programme and organizational improvements have been either shelved or overshadowed by the bitter debate over the party's future attitude towards the Opposition.

Of greater importance in the context of the leadership issue is that the deputy general secretary, Mr Indrajit Gupta's earlier image of being neutral has also taken a beating in the past few days. Earlier, Mr Rajeswara Rao had publicly declared that Mr Gupta was going to succeed him and no one had raised any objections.

However, at the central executive committee (CEC) meeting on Thursday night, Mr Gupta is learnt to have openly supported the "central line" propounded by the seven leaders including Mr Jagannath Sarkar, Mr Biswanath Mukherjee and Mr A.B. Bardhan. According to sources, Mr Gupta was among the few members of the 32-member CEC to have supported the original amendment put forward by the seven leaders. He was also instrumental in working out the compromise amendment which has been adopted at the congress for the sake of unanimity, sources said.

Following this, all the other members of the CEC who support the "Andhra line" have turned against Mr Gupta and will insist that Mr Rao should continue as general secretary at least till the general elections scheduled at the end of this year. Mr Rao is not only supported by the entire Andhra unit but also by those who believe that the party should not go in for "opportunistic" alliances with Opposition parties for "electoral" gains.

#### **Organizational Report Postponed**

46001375 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English  
12 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Debasish Chatterji]

[Text] Calcutta, March 11—The CPI [Communist Party of India] has decided to conduct its attacks against the N.T. Rama Rao Government in Andhra Pradesh in such a manner as to include the CPI-M [Communist Party of

India-Marxist] and other Left and democratic forces in the movement opposing the 'anti-people and anti-democratic' measures and policies of the Telugu Desam Government.

The decision, taken recently by the commission appointed to review the party's draft political resolution at the CPI's 14th congress here is evidently aimed at facilitating an understanding and cooperation with the CPI-M, which though of late being critical of the TDP [Telugu Desam Party] Government, has not been opposing its anti-democratic policies on the plea that it is engaged on an anti-Congress struggle at the national level.

The Communist parties' contradictory approach towards the TDP Government has so long been a major bone of contention between the two parties, impairing closer understanding and action, which both keenly desire.

Briefing correspondents, party deputy general secretary Indrajit Gupta said that it is now felt that the CPI should 'intervene' where such governments are not performing in accordance with the expectations of the people by conducting struggles and also having dialogues and discussions with such State governments to act in a manner worthy of providing a viable alternative to the Congress governments.

The CPI will also examine in depth how to overcome the weakness in the party structure and functioning by way of asking the new national council to be elected at the end of the congress to examine in detail various amendments to this effect.

A party spokesman said that the commission entrusted to review the CPI organisational report decided that more time would be required to scrutinise the 'complete changes' recommended by numerous amendments and that this task should be left to the new national council.

The spokesman said that amendments suggesting the setting up of a polit bureau and a new central secretariat and recommending complete changes in the party's coordination from top to bottom, would be examined by the new national council.

Addressing correspondents separately, CPI leaders from Uttar Pradesh said that Congress leaders including a former state minister and a former MP are among the prominent figures heading the communal outfits vying against each other in the Babri Masjid/Rama Janam Bhoomi dispute in the State.

Mr Saryu Pandey and Mr Ishaq Samhali, secretary and member respectively of the CPI's UP [Uttar Pradesh] State council, said that while the Muslim fundamentalist organisations are willing that the disputed monument be taken over by the state's Archaeological Department, the

Hindu organisations, including the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh] and Hindu Mahasabha are adamant about converting the monument into a Ram Mandir.

The CPI unit in the State will organise a march on April 2 from Lucknow to Faizabad to demand for a peaceful settlement of the dispute, and if this is not possible within a specified time-frame, that the matter be taken up in court for a decision.

Mr Ishaq Samhali deprecated the government's attitude in not inviting secular Hindus and Muslims to sort out the matter between themselves, and calling communal leaders to discuss the issue.

The congress demanded that the Government must accept the recommendations of the wage boards for journalists and non-journalists "without any dithering," adds PTI [Press Trust of India].

The CPI in a resolution warned the Government not to bow down before the pressure being built up by newspaper magnates against the recommendations.

#### Rao 14 Mar Press Conference

46001375 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
15 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] Calcutta, March 14—The CPI [Communist Party of India] is still undecided about the "adjustments" it will make during the elections as it expects "many more changes" to take place before the Lok Sabha poll.

According to the party general secretary, Mr C. Rajeswara Rao, the party's 14th congress, which ended at the Salt Lake Stadium on Sunday, did not take up the electoral strategy of the party, although it discussed its stand towards the bourgeois Opposition parties.

Addressing newsmen here today, Mr Rao said the CPI was closely watching the developments in Opposition parties. He said the party was keenly following the unification move of the Akali Dal factions. "No one can say what will happen just before the general election," he observed.

Expressing the CPI's antipathy towards the Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, Mr Rao said, "A lot of things are happening in that party too. A number of its leaders are now in rebellion against its chairman who is known for his dictatorial tendencies. We are expecting many changes in that organisation."

Mr Rao said there were differences in the party congress about the CPI's relations with the bourgeois Opposition parties, especially the National Front, of which Mr N.T. Rama Rao, the Telugu Desam leader, is the chairman.



Asked whether the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist]'s softer stand towards the Front, and especially the Desam, would stand in the way of the CPI's eagerness for communist unity in the country, Mr Rao said the two parties had common views on a number of issues. "Divergence of stand on this will in no way affect our call," he commented.

Mr Rao admitted that despite the CPI's call for Communist unity, the "CPI(M) has not shown any positive interest" towards that end. In this connection, he mentioned the resolution adopted at the Bangalore convention of the AITUC [All India Trade Union Congress], trade union wing of the CPI, urging the CITU [Center of Indian Trade Unions], trade union wing of the CPI(M), to arrive at a countrywide understanding on workers' representatives. "We proposed that we should put an end to fighting between ourselves," he said, adding, "We told them we are ready to withdraw from places where they are strong and they should let us continue where they are weak. But this did not come off." [as printed]

The national council of the CPI has decided to undertake "periodic assessment" of the performance and records of its leaders, including the party general secretary.

Mr Rao said incumbents for top posts in the party hierarchy are likely to be changed periodically, "in order to promote relatively younger activists in the party."

Asked whether this arrangement would cover him also, he said he was not exempt from this and older partymen should always "give place to the younger ones."

The newly-elected party general secretary said the new system had taken shape about a year back. It was at that time, he added, that the post for a deputy general secretary of the party was created and Mr Indrajit Gupta, senior central secretariat member of the party, was declared an incumbent for it.

Mr Rao said Mr Gupta, despite continuing as the party deputy general secretary, will concentrate more on political programmes of the party and its relations with other organisations. "I will concentrate more on organisational affairs and day-to-day affairs of the party," he said, adding, "Our party has decided that its general secretary need not continue from one congress to the next—that is the three-year period and a new incumbent may take over in between the two congresses."

There has been some erosion of the left in the "working class" belts in West Bengal in recent times, according to Mr Biswanath Mukherjee, veteran leader and secretary of the state CPI.

### More Details, Leadership Elected

46001375 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
15 Mar 89 p 17

[Text] Calcutta, March 14—Mr C. Rajeswara Rao, who was re-elected general secretary of the CPI [Communist Party of India] at the first meeting of the newly-elected national council of the party yesterday, said here today that the CPI, which had taken a "positive attitude" towards the National Front, would have to make a reassessment if the front decided to admit the United Akali Dal into its fold.

Some in the Akali Dal, he said, were in league with the extremists in Punjab and the CPI would not have any truck with parties which supported the "Khalistan" movement and worked against the unity and integrity of the country. Mr Rao hastened to add that he did not consider all those in the Akali Dal as pro-Khalistanis. For example, Mr Surjit Singh Barnala, former chief minister, was not a supporter of the "Khalistanis," but he was stabbed in the back by the Congress government at the Centre.

Mr Rao said the anti-people measures of the Telugu Desam Party [TDP] government in Andhra Pradesh and the dictatorial attitude of its leader had now come home to roost.

There was a "virtual revolt" within the TDP following the dismissal of 31 ministers at one go by Mr N.T. Rama Rao.

He expected some significant changes in the TDP before the end of the current budget session of the assembly.

Mr Rao admitted that there had been differences within the delegates at the 14th congress of the party, which ended last week, on the tactical line to be followed in the non-Congress and non-left state governments.

The differences were caused because the delegates from these states came with different experiences.

The party decided to permit the state units to adopt tactical lines suited to their respective states to fight the undemocratic measures of the non-Congress and non-left state governments and the anti-people steps of the Congress government at the Centre.

The tactical lines adopted at the congress were not meant for electoral manoeuvres, Mr Rao said. He admitted, however, that the tactics would have some bearing on electoral ones.

The CPI leader said that his party was not counterpoising communist unity against left unity, as had been alleged by some quarters.

He was sure communist unity would help strengthen left unity in the country. The CPI had mooted proposals for a closer relationship with the CPM [Marxist Communist Party] on the trade union front, and also for setting up state-level and district-level co-ordination committees for a closer working relationship. The CPM was yet to respond to them.

Mr Rao welcomed the CPM general secretary, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad's statement that instead of talking through the press, the communist parties should talk privately and settle their differences.

Mr Indrajit Gupta was re-elected the deputy general secretary of the CPI. Mr Rao said Mr Gupta would henceforth take on more political responsibilities such as holding talks with other parties.

The congress also decided that instead of a change of the party leadership every three years, a periodic assessment of the performance of the leaders, depending on the needs of the party, would be made to pave the way for younger leaders in the central executive committee and the central secretariat.

In the newly elected 31-member central executive committee, Mr Indradip Sinha, Mr Z.A. Ahmed and Mr Phani Bora have been replaced by Mr Y.V. Krishan Rao, Mr Jagdish Tripathi and Mrs Vimla Farooqi.

All the other members have been re-elected. The only change in the nine-member central secretariat is the replacement of Mr Gupta.

#### **Iraqi Delegates Attend**

46001375 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
11 Mar 89 p 7

[Text] An undisclosed number of members of the Iraq Communist Party are attending the 14th CPI [Communist Party of India] congress in Calcutta as "underground delegates." The names of these members do not figure in the list of foreign delegates attending the congress for reasons of personal security. The Communist Party in Iraq is a banned organization. The Iraqi delegates have been avoiding the Press.

#### **CPI-M Reacts to, Comments on CPI 14th Congress**

**Namboodiripad DESHABHIMANI article**  
46001377 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English  
12 Mar 89 p 5

[Text] Trivandrum, March 11—"The talk about the reunification of the two communist parties without solving the existing differences, that led to its split in 1964, would be like tying the horse before the cart" says

Communist Party (Marxist) [CPM] general secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad in his article 'Communist Unity: What and How' in the party organ daily *DESHABHIMANI*.

EMS said that the split in the communist movement in 1964 strengthened the movement and did not weaken it as it is propagated by the Communist Party of India leaders. He said that the struggle conducted by the Left wing group in the undivided party against revisionism and the work done by the Communist Party (Marxist) after its formation in 1964 has strengthened the communist movement in India.

The article said that the CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] did not agree to the CPI [Communist Party of India] contention that "as a result of the change in the national and international political development the difference between the two parties has almost ended". Mr Namboodiripad said that the differences, both on practical work and on ideological questions on a number of important issues still exist between the two parties.

"Talking of reunification without seeing these important facts would be similar to the unity efforts of the bourgeois parties which gets through the exercise of split and unification", he said. The communist parties should not follow this exercise, he said. The issue of reunification should be discussed when the time comes, that too without making it a public issue, Mr Namboodiripad said. He said that rejecting his proposal of joint work by the CPI leaders is like tying the horse before the cart. Whether it is unity or reunification, it could be achieved only when both the parties agree, he said.

The CPM general secretary said that if the CPI thinks that it can achieve reunification by putting pressure through public campaign he can only sympathise with them for such a stand. EMS said that the quarter century old split has created a number of new problems which have to be solved before taking steps for reunification.

CPI's stand on the question of the reason for the split in the united party is that it was organised at the instance of the Communist Party of China after the ideological differences in the world communist movement. But the CPI-M feels that the violation of inner party democracy in the united party was one of the reasons.

#### **GANASHAKTI 13 Mar Article**

46001377 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
14 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Pathik Guha]

[Text] Calcutta, March 13: The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] has criticised the CPI [Communist Party of India] leadership for saying that the former's strength at the all-India level is less than that of the CPI.

Criticising Mr Gupta for "reminding the CPI(M) that West Bengal and Kerala did not make up India" and that "the CPI(M) did not have the strength to mobilise as many people, as the CPI did, in Bihar." GANASHAKTI said in the last three years, the membership of the CPI had gone up by merely 15,000 against the CPI(M)'s one lakh.

Pointing out that Mr Gupta had insisted on resolving the differences between the two communist parties through dialogue, the CPI(M) said it was not only the two communist parties but other leftists outfits as well, who were waging a united battle against the Congress(I). "It is the CPI which has been insisting on closer ties only between the two communist parties" GANASHAKTI said.

The daily also refuted Mr Gupta's assertion that the CPI leadership was not to blame for the split of the Communist Party of India. According to it, till the fourth congress of the undivided party at Palghat in 1956, the organisation viewed India as a bourgeois landlord state. But the draft resolution circulated before the party congress in 1964 made it clear that the party was eager to review that assessment. "This proves who was behind the split," the daily observed.

The state CPI(M) morninger GANASHAKTI which carried a detailed report on the CPI's open rally at the Brigade Parade Ground yesterday, added the CPI(M)'s rebuttals to almost all the charges leveled by the CPI leadership at the rally.

The headline of the GANASHAKTI report was "Anti-CPI(M) tirade under slogans of communist unity," making it clear that the party has taken exception to the criticism by the CPI leadership.

Objecting to the CPI deputy general-secretary, Mr Indrajit Gupta's assertion that the CPI(M) had strengthened its power base in West Bengal and Kerala by dint of its administrative authority in the two states, GANASHAKTI pointed out that "the CPI has also been in power in the two states."

According to the daily "the CPI was in power in all the seven states where non-Congress parties formed government in 1967, despite the fact that the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] had backed all those governments." In 1968, the CPI had changed its line to justify that role and then in 1971, when all those governments were toppled, the party reverted to its old policy of an understanding with the Congress(I), GANASHAKTI added.

#### GANASHAKTI Editor's Article

46001377 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
16 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] Calcutta, March 15: The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] has ruled out communist unity proposed by the CPI [Communist Party of India] and highlighted by its leadership during the party's 14th congress here last week.

In an article published in the state CPI(M) daily, GANASHAKTI, its editor and CPI(M) central committee member, Mr Anil Biswas, rejected the suggestion, arguing that the CPI is not a Marxist party at all. "There can be anything but a communist unity between a non-Marxist organisation and a Marxist party," he observed.

Mr Biswas analysed the party programme and policies of the CPI to prove that these were miles apart from those of the CPI(M). "Our differences are not trifling ones," he said, adding, "Class outlook (of the two parties) is at the basis of those differences. It is a case of Marxist-Leninist thoughts versus social democratic ideas."

According to Mr Biswas, "communist unity" was not a bond between bourgeois parties. He has said "Bourgeois parties can unite on the basis of a common programme and minimum issues. These issues or programmes can even be of temporary significance. They often unite with a view to form a ministry of fighting an election. There are instances in our country when small organisations have united themselves under one banner for such petty gains. But communist unity is a different matter altogether."

Pointing out that the programme and policies of the CPI are not deemed by the CPI(M), Mr Biswas said, "In today's world, there are a lot of reactionary organisations that take pleasure in declaring them as socialist ones. Similarly, there are some people who have no qualms against describing them as communists despite renouncing the fundamental prerequisites of communism."

Mr Biswas alleged that the CPI was not a communist organisation for it had failed to "assess the national and international situations in the light of Marxism-Leninism and act accordingly in deciding its programmes and policies." Such an organisation can only have the title communist in its name, but it can never be adjudged a communist organisation politically, he said, adding, "We can have united action with such a party on minimum programmes or can form a front with a definite political objective, but never go in for a communist unity."

According to Mr Biswas, the basic differences between the CPI(M) and CPI on assessing the class character of the state and stage and path of revolution were still there. While the CPI(M) stresses on establishing a peoples' democratic state under the leadership of the working class, the CPI speaks of an united action of the peasantry, labourers, Communist Party and other leftist organisations so as to create a situation in which the masses following the National Democratic Front, Congress and other bourgeois outfits will be wooed by the working class organisations.

### Namboodiripad at Party Rally

46001377 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
16 Mar 89 p 8

[Text] Patna, March 15: The CPM [Marxist Communist Party] General secretary, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad, asserted that if it did not have any links with the "communal" BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], the Janata Dal would be in a "better position than the CPM" to defeat the Congress in the coming elections.

Addressing a rally organised by the state committee of the party at Gandhi Maidan yesterday Mr Namboodiripad said that his party and the CPI [Communist Party of India], the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc were "trying" to carve out a separate, united identity for the Left.

Requesting the Janata Dal and the National Front leaders to "even now dissociate from the BJP completely," he said any linkage with the communal party would "force the Muslims, Christians and people of other communities to vote for the Congress."

He congratulated the Janata Dal leaders for departing from their earlier stand that they would invite the BJP for a merger, but criticised them for "trying to have electoral adjustments with it."

However, he said he did not think the Janata Dal would have even these adjustments with BJP, as "a powerful section of the Dal leadership has begun to realise the drastic repercussions of such an act," [as published]

Mr Namboodiripad launched a tirade against the BJP for trying to "divide the country" by demanding abolition of minority commissions and abrogation of the special status for Jammu and Kashmir. He described the party as an "instigator of communalism" and "dependent on a fascist organisation like the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh."

Referring to the CPM idea of an alternative to the Congress government, he said his party was trying to form a "left, secular, democratic alternative". The idea of such an alternative was slowly gaining credence among the entire Left, he added.

He praised resolutions adopted at the 14th Congress of the CPI in Calcutta, which said that the party would not compromise with the Congress and that it would favour isolation of the BJP and other communal forces.

However, he said, though the CPM agreed with these resolutions, "it does not mean that my party is ready to merge with the CPI to bring about Left unity."

He said such unity could be possible only after the differences between the two on ideological and functional issues were resolved.

**Minister: India for Revision of Montreal Protocol**  
46001388 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
17 Mar 89 p 10

[Article: "India for Revision of Montreal Protocol"]

[Text] THE TIMES OF INDIA NEWS SERVICE—New Delhi, March 16—Mr Z. A. Ansari, minister for environment and forests, said in an interview here yesterday that India would sign the Montreal protocol provided it was suitably modified.

"India's refusal to sign the protocol despite its professed commitment to environment has surprised the western, developed world actively canvassing for global effort to check further damage to the ozone layer.

"We share the concern of the west on the global rise in temperature and enhanced ultra violet ray emissions as a result of the hole in ozone layer," Mr Ansari said.

### Exorbitant Cost

The Montreal protocol is an agreement between governments to reduce the use of chlorofluorocarbon (CFC) gases, but it is the commercial giants and private companies who are working on the technologies that will reduce CFC and provide the much needed alternatives. They are spending colossal amounts on research for these technologies and there is no guarantee that they will extend them to developing countries at reasonable rates. As commercial companies, they would expect to get their returns. The substitutes themselves may be costlier than the CFC and halons. In addition, the necessary modification to the equipment will be highly expensive.

"What if we sign the protocol and don't get the technology? We are contemplating all this."

Mr Ansari feels it is highly unfair to put developing and developed countries on par. The polluter should pay and since it is the developed world that is producing and consuming the maximum CFC, they should pay.

The Montreal protocol has asked developed countries to reduce their consumption of CFC by 50 percent by the year 2000. Their consumption is one kilogram per capita per year. India's consumption is 0.005 kg per capita per year.

### India's Share

According to the Montreal convention, India can increase its consumption of CFC up to 0.3 kg per capita annually till 2000 and then it is expected to cut back to 0.005 kg per capita by the year 2006. "We need the development. The projected figure of consumption is not more than 0.01 kg by 1996," Mr Ansari said.



India's consumption is limited to essentials like refrigeration and fire fighting industries. India hardly uses any sprays or perfumes, Mr Ansari said. The west is consuming CFC for essentials as well as non-essentials. Asking the developed countries to reduce their CFC by 50 percent is not penalty enough, Mr Ansari feels. It is they who have damaged the ozone layer.

"In purely practical terms, however, it is not a question of who is causing the damage, but how we stop this damage to the ozone layer," Mr Ansari added.

"Developing countries should provide for the transfer of technologies to developing countries," Mr Ansari said. For this, he has suggested at the recent London conference formulation of a fund by developed countries. At subsidised rates, the new technology can then be provided to the developing countries.

"We want a firm commitment from the developed countries that (a) technology will be provided to us, (b) that it will be at subsidised rates.

#### Vague Provisions

"Though the Montreal protocol has certain provisions regarding technical assistance to developing countries, the provisions are delightfully vague," Mr Ansari said.

The fund for transfer of alternative technologies should not cut into the present bilateral and multilateral assistance to developing countries for poverty alleviation, he feels.

"India's stand on the Montreal protocol was appreciated by both Prince Charles and Mr Tolbe of the UNEP [United Nations Environment Program]. Unlike China, we are not asking for the new technologies free of cost," Mr Ansari said.

Within the country, the ministry proposes to limit use of CFC only for essential purposes. Mr Ansari proposes to discuss with the ministry of industry how this can be done. About 38 million tonnes of carbon dioxide, which causes the global "greenhouse effect" is emitted annually into the atmosphere by the coal-based power plants of the country. In addition to this, CFC and methane gas are also released. Mr Ansari said dependence on coal-based power plants had also to be reduced.

"We will work towards reduction in CFC initially, and when the alternative technologies are available, we will use them. We continue to be an environmentally conscious country, because when doomsday comes, we are not going to be spared," he said.

#### PRC Ambassador Comments on Sino-Indian Border Problem

46001386 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
18 Mar 89 p 3

[Article: "China Keen on Solution to Border Row"]

[Text] Madras, March 17—The Chinese Government genuinely wished for an early solution to the border problem so that the Sino-Indian border could become an area of peace and amity, Mr. Tu Guowei, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to India, said on Friday.

Speaking at a reception accorded to him by the India-China Friendship Association (Tamil Nadu) here, he said all were aware that the border problem was the primary hitch in the development of Sino-Indian relations. "We believe that a fair and reasonable solution can be sought out through friendly consultations, as long as the two sides act in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation."

Pending a settlement of the problem, both sides should try their level best to ensure stability and tranquillity along the border.

The two sides should take positive steps to strengthen bilateral ties in other fields, he said. "We are happy to note that at the December summit, leaders of our two countries shared a sincere and conciliatory approach towards the border dispute," Mr. Tu said. They also called for concerted efforts to create favourable conditions for a peaceful settlement. Now that the two sides were keen to resolve the problem, Mr. Tu said he was sure a mutually acceptable solution would be found.

Mr. Tu said that China sincerely wished to establish close relations with India on the basis of Panchsheel. Friendly relations between China and India not only served the interest of the two countries, but would produce a positive impact on peace and stability in Asia and the rest of the world. It required not only the commitment of the two governments, but to a large extent the involvement of the two peoples, including the members of friendship associations.

Mr. Tu said there was no denying the fact that China and India did experience a "period of unhappiness". However, that unhappy period was, in his view, "but only a tiny whirlpool in the long river of Sino-India history of friendliness", and was already something of the past in recent years. Sino-Indian relations had been improving. The visit of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to China was certainly a major event in bilateral ties, he said.

The All India president of the association, Mr. Mandal, who is also the West Bengal Cooperation Minister, said that the association was for establishing connection between the peoples of India and China along with the respective governments. It had formulated 10 points and

the proposals included the promotion of traditional trade between the two countries. It was the duty of countries such as China and India to save the world from exploitation. Last year, the association had said that there should be a political solution to the border problem. "We welcome Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit but the matter had not been finalised", he said. The problem must be solved across the table.

Mr. K. Sattanatha Karayalar, Chairman of the Tamil Nadu unit of the association, said that the two countries had a role in establishing international peace and eliminating poverty, hunger and diseases.

Mr. M. K. Eelaventhan pleaded for the moral backing of the two countries for the cause of the Eelam Tamils. Mr. N. Ardanari, Pondicherry unit president of the association, also spoke. Mr. Nagai Mugan, proposing a vote of thanks, requested the Ambassador to try to establish a Consulate-General in Madras.

#### **NAGA Militants' Secret Talks in Delhi Reported, Denied**

##### **Wasbir Hussain Report**

46001403 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
6 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Wasbir Hussain: "Secret Talks With NSCN in Delhi"]

[Text] Guwahati, March 5—The Union home ministry has launched a top secret operation to clinch deals with the major guerrilla outfits operating in the northeastern region to end the decades old bush war in the area, well informed sources told *THE TELEGRAPH* today.

In a hush-hush operation, intelligence agents have flown in three top leaders of the underground National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), including its "foreign secretary," Mr Angelus Shimray, to New Delhi in the last few days. Mr R. H. Raising, the NSCN's regional chairman, was the other top leader who was taken to the capital. The outfit's secretary-general, Mr Thuingeliong Muivah, who was on the run until recently following a conflict within the organisation, too, is believed to have been taken by the intelligence personnel to New Delhi sometime earlier.

The guerrilla leaders, according to reports, were flown to Delhi incognito in a scheduled Indian Airlines flight from Impha. They are already reported to have held "a few" rounds of discussions with senior Union home ministry officials. An accord, sources indicated, is likely to be signed between them before the ensuing Lok Sabha polls.

The government's peace offensive comes close on the heels of the decision by the Issac Chishi Swu faction of the NSCN to join the parent body, the Naga National Council (NNC) led by one-time arch rival, Mr Angami Zapu Phizo.

In fact, according to informed sources, it is Mr Swu who has been playing a keyrole in arranging the negotiations with the Union government. Unconfirmed reports reaching Kohima and Imphal say that Mr Muivah who was reported to have been in Delhi recently has been "flown out" of the country possibly to have a direct meeting with Mr Phizo, who resides in London, or some NNC representative.

The Nagaland chief minister, Mr S.C. Jamir's reported meeting with some "top intermediaries" recently is believed to have laid the grounds for the dramatic decision to airlift the NSCN leaders to the capital for talks. It was Mr Jamir who two-years-ago made the initial "contacts" with the NSCN in a bid to evolve a negotiated settlement on the underground issue, commonly called the "Naga political problem." Soon after he became chief minister for the second time in January, Mr Jamir had told this correspondent that his first move on the Naga problem would be to see if the various underground groups could be united. This, he said, was a must for a permanent solution to the problem. Mr Swu's latest initiative to join the NNC led by Mr Phizo is seen as an outcome of moves made in that direction by Mr Jamir.

Mr Swu's decision to merge his faction with the NNC would certainly lessen the influence of Mr S.S. Khaplang who took control of the NSCN during the end of last year after a bloody coup that left at least 50 supporters of the Muivah-Swu combine dead. In view of this, Mr Khaplang and his group would have to be on the defensive especially now that the Centre has initiated the talks. According to observers, Mr Khaplang might finally give in to the pressure from the dominant group in the outfit.

##### **Naga Council Called 'Pro-Delhi'**

46001403 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
9 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Prasun Sonwalkar: "Too Many Barriers for Naga Pact"]

[Text] *THE TIMES OF INDIA* NEWS SERVICE, Guwahati, March 8—The dreaded National Socialist Council of Nagaland, once a pro-Beijing outfit operating along the Indo-Burma border and parts of Manipur and Nagaland, has today apparently turned pro-Delhi, mainly due to the very factors that led to its creation in 1980.

Frontline representatives of the rebel organisation are currently in New Delhi for talks, for what would be the second accord concerning the Naga political problem after the Shillong accord of 1975.

The hardliners within the Naga National Council [NNC], led by the charismatic Mr Angami Zapu Phizo, broke away from the parent organisation in 1980 to form an insurgent group.

But less than ten years after the NSCN [National Socialist Council of Nagaland] was formed, a major chunk of it has been declared non grata by the very organisation which provided the NSCN its basic sustenance from Burma—the Kachin Independence Organisation [KIO].

The reason for this volte face by the KIO, according to a Nagaland leader here, is the meeting between the president of the KIO, Mr Brangsein, with Mr Phizo in London in later 1987.

According to the leader, who sought anonymity, after this meeting in London, no organisation barring the NNC was allowed to enter Kachinland. Kachinland is a vast area in Burma bordering India, where the Kachin rebels are fighting the Burmese government for quite some time for independence.

The Kachin Independence Army, the military wing of the KIO, actively assisted the NSCN in terms of arms supply and passage to China for military purposes.

However, with the new alliance of the KIO with the NNC, the NSCN was depleted of its support base and was under sustained pressure from the Indian army conducting anti-insurgency operations in the area near Manipur and Nagaland.

The KIO had earlier joined hands with the NSCN since they both had a common enemy in the Indian army which conducted joint operations with the Burmese army.

Recently, the KIO refused shelter and a passage to China to Mr T. Muivah, secretary-general of the NSCN.

The Naga leader said, Mr Muivah, while returning to Nagaland along with a group of around 30 followers after being rebuffed by the KIO, was challenged by the Khaplang faction of the NSCN near the Nagaland-Burma border. In the clash that followed, 15 persons, including 10 women, were killed, Mr Khaplang is a Burmese Naga and is at loggerheads with other NSCN leaders.

After the chairman of the NSCN, Mr Isaac Chisi Swu, also received similar treatment from the KIO, he sought the help of the NNC.

According to a letter that surfaced recently, Mr Swu announced the decision to unite once again with the parent body to find out ways and means for the unity of the people of Nagaland.

The letter dated May 28 last, however, has evoked no response so far from the NNC. The letter bore the seal, Nagaland for Christ, government of the people's republic of Nagaland and Mr Swu signed it as president of the republic.

### Foregoing Reports Denied

46001403 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
17 Mar 89 p 5

[Article: "NSCN Denies Talks in Delhi"]

[Text] Guwahati, March 16—The NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagaland) has denied a report that some of its top leaders have held discussions with senior Union home ministry officials in New Delhi. The denial came in a statement (published, unaltered below) by Mr Rh. Raising, Political organiser-cum-Regional Chairman of the NSCN.

The following is the full text of the statement: "As per the report by Wasbir Hussain in the national paper through THE TELEGRAPH on 6th of March 1989, three top NSCN leaders, Th. Muivah, General Secretary, Angelus Shimray, Foreign Secretary and Rh. Raising, Political Organiser-cum-Regional Chairman, were flown to Delhi and reported to have held a few rounds of discussions with senior union home ministry officials.

"To that effect, it is our strong objection and clarification that the report is totally baseless, fabricated and motivated paper war. It is an attempt to question our patriotism. It is nothing but all rubbish words being used when one is drawn into the ocean of confusion. Strangely enough, it is also further reported that Mr Muivah has been flown out of the country to have direct meeting with Mr Phizo. Nonsense. We have nothing to do with spent force. Agreed, the news is important and warrants prominent display. But why so far away from the truth?

"We rely not upon your paper war report or trickery divide and rule policy but upon our own principles and policies. We must understand the situation in order to change it, instead of interpreting it one way or another in order to reconcile ourselves with what exists. We abandoned the report to the gnawing criticism of the mice all the more willingly as our visions clear and bright.

"Beloved countrymen, the Ministry of Isak Chishi Swu, Honourable Chairman of NSCN is functioning in full swing. We declare our unquestionable faith in the leadership of Mr Isak Chishi Swu and Mr Th. Muivah, the anointed leaders of the Nagas.

Long Live, NSCN."

**Prospects for Communist Unity**  
46001376 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
20, 21 Mar 89

[Two part commentary by V. D. Chopra: "Prospects of Communist Unity in India"]

20 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] Now that the major Communist parties of India, the CPI [Communist Party of India] and the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] have held their party Congresses, the uppermost question in the minds of the people, among the unattached Leftists is: what are the prospects of Communist unity in India in the foreseeable future?

It is not easy to answer this question because the chasm which divides these two major components of the Left movement is still very wide. As a matter of fact the Calcutta party Congress of the CPI, its 14th party Congress, since its formation in 1925 has unleashed a new controversy between the CPI and the CPI(M). There are obvious reasons for this. In the first instance, this Congress has clearly demonstrated that outside the parliamentary politics, the CPI is a major political force. According to a senior executive of a multi-national company, who was present in Calcutta during the CPI rally, organised after the party Congress, nearly five lakh people attended this massive demonstration of the mass strength of the CPI. What struck him the most was, as he put it that "it was a unique" rally in more than one sense. It was different from the Congress rallies in the sense that those who came to this mass gathering were mostly the rural poor. It was in a sense different from the rallies of the CPI(M) organized in Calcutta because one could not only notice a glow on their faces and certain amount of determination was writ large on their faces. Quite apart from this aspect the West Bengal unit of the CPI collected nearly Rs 50 lakh for this party Congress. These are, though small, but significant indicators of the potentiality of the strength of the CPI in India. One may or may not agree with this assessment and it might be even coloured by subjectivity.

That almost within 48 hours the West Bengal state committee of the CPI(M) mounted an attack on the CPI's call for a unification of the Indian Communist Movement and called the latter "Menshevik and counter-revolutionary party" conceals more than what it reveals.

An article in the party daily GANASHAKTI remarked: "The CPI is carrying the Menshevik flag of class-appeasement by forsaking the Leninist principle in determining its programme. This is nothing but a betrayal of the revolution in the name of revolution. Marxism-Leninism is the philosophy of the Communists. Can there be a Communist unity between the Marxist-Leninist and anti-Leninists?"

It is significant to mention in this connection that Kerala and West Bengal account for more than 70 percent of the CPI membership, with the former returning a slightly higher figure than the latter. This implies that one of the most influential units of the CPI(M), i.e., of West Bengal is of the view that there are 'qualitative' differences between the two Communist parties' programmes and these differences are over strategic objectives of the "People's Democratic Revolution" as advocated by the CPI(M) and the "National Democratic Revolution" as propagated by the CPI. Interestingly before the CPI Congress a sharp controversy took place in the party leadership over these objectives. However, the CPI Congress has decided to hold a special Congress to discuss the changes in the programme of the party. It has not left at that. [as published] It has decided that a frank and open discussion on the changes in the programme should be initiated within the party. This process in fact has already begun because the official ideological organ of the party, PARTY LIFE, has already initiated these discussions.

The controversy of the strategic objective of the Communist movement in India is not new. It is rooted in its history. On the event of independence for instance, the CPI had arrived at a clear understanding of the Indian revolution as an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, that is, national democratic in the first stage and its further development to the second stage, i.e., the anti-capitalist or socialist stage. During the post-war upsurge of the national liberation movement and before the transfer of power, the central committee of the CPI in its historic resolution in August 1946, entitled "For the Final Assault" called for rousing "the masses against the British imperialist plans and for the realisation of the essential task of the programme of the national democratic revolution."

This perspective was blurred by the Left sectarian understanding of the developments in 1947. The dual rule of the national bourgeoisie and the compromise it made was seen as "betrayal" of the revolution and the retreat of British imperialism as its cunning counter-offensive. The polit Bureau documents of the period elaborated the line of the political thesis of the second party Congress and drew such conclusions as for example "Britain's domination has not ended but the forms of domination have changed. The bourgeoisie was so long kept out of state power and in opposition to it, now it is granted a share of state power in order to disrupt and drown the national democratic revolution in blood. This sectarian and disruptive policy was further elaborated and a new thrust was given to crude sectarian policy. This becomes clear from the following quotation:

"The bourgeoisie and its government have come out not only as mere compromisers and collaborators; they have come out as the spearhead of the counter-revolutionary forces, the main force which alone because of its mass influence can defend the capitalist order, create disruption among the masses and organise terror". Again, the



Indian bourgeoisie "is the most active fighting partner in the bourgeois-feudal-imperialist combine. In relation to the people it is the strongest of the three, and today when the main immediate task of the combine is to stem the tide of revolution, the Indian bourgeoisie comes forward as the leading member of the combine. The fight for revolution, therefore, breaks out directly against the rule of the Congress government and no amount of curses and abuses against imperialism can alter the fact".

Has the CPI(M) changed its assessment on this crucial question? No one can clearly answer this question.

This dogmatic sectarian and disruptive strategy of the CPI was evolved in its second party Congress in Calcutta in 1948 and the author of the alternative policy, "For the Final Assault", then the general secretary of the party, Mr P. C. Joshi, was thrown out of the party leadership. The havoc which this policy played with the CPI in that period is well known and needed not be recapitulated. Later in 1950, a mechanical parallel was drawn with the Chinese revolution and the slogan of "Chinese path was put forward". For nearly one decade this controversy went on in the CPI. However, at the Vijayawada party Congress in early 1961 the united CPI passed the political resolution despite sharp differences and heated debates on the report of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, the late general secretary of the Party. This resolution spelt out:

"The tasks on the fulfillment of which depend our national regeneration and all-sided national advance are: further consolidation of our independence by defence and strengthening of our foreign policy and forging closer links with the socialist and Afro-Asian states by preventing further penetration of foreign capital and elimination of its existing hold on vital sectors of our economy through nationalisation; by the rapid expansion of the state sector. Nationalisation of banks and such other concerns as may enable the state sector to acquire a commanding position in our economy. Democratic control over the state sector, combating of waste, corruption and inefficiency and the building of more heavy and basic industries in it.

The carrying out of agrarian reforms which would really benefit the mass of peasantry, reduce the heavy burdens on them and make possible more capital investment on land so that agricultural production may increase. A just system of taxation whose main burden falls on the rich. Fixing of minimum wage for all workers and employees and sliding scale of dearness allowances. Improvement in the living standard of the people, repeal of repressive laws and unfettered civil liberties. Restriction of the power of bureaucrats, greater powers for states, for local elected organs and extension of democracy".

This was an entirely new approach. But later this came into clash with the old understanding and the CPI was split.

These copious quotations are being given to make out that there are basic differences between the CPI and the CPI(M) over the direction of the Indian revolution, its stage and the character of the state. The CPI(M) firmly sticks to the position that its objective is to achieve "people's democracy" and the CPI thinks that its objective is a "national democratic revolution". This controversy has now assumed a new dimension because throughout the Communist movement in the world including in the Soviet Union, China and Vietnam new thought structures are being evolved to build a socialist society. These new ideas and concepts have begun a new process of re-thinking into the Communist movement in India, in the CPI in particular, though it is still at an elementary stage. The dominant leadership of the CPI thinks that even the big bourgeoisie is not capitulating to imperialism, though it has collaboration agreement with foreign imperialism. "It has neither succeeded in diluting the anti-imperialist character of foreign policy nor is subordinating the economic development. The public sector has vastly expanded including the nationalised banks and the financial institutions". This analysis does not end there.

A close study of the documents of the CPI shows that in its assessments there is undoubtedly a rightward shift in economic policies and this shift has entered a new period during last one decade. [as printed] However, this is another side to it.

The Indian capitalist class has been expanding both its economic and social base. It has a very wide class base both in the small and medium bourgeoisie and in the agrarian sector—the rich peasants, the capitalist farmers and the capitalist landlords. The fact is that in India there are today over 70 lakh income tax assesses and if one adds to this figure the number of rural rich, one comes to the conclusion that not less than 1.50 crore families come in the upper middle and upper class income bracket. If one accepts this conclusion the harsh reality is that in India capitalism is growing, and therefore the class character of the Indian state needs to be thoroughly studied and discussed.

To say all this does not mean that one should ignore that the capitalist path of development is not leading to sharp social contradictions. This path is leading to the suffering of the masses, growing gulf between the rich and the poor, inequality and backwardness, increasing unemployment, price rise and inflation and heavy burdens on the masses. This sharply poses the task of stepping up the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly struggle.

The CPI is struggling to establish a dialectical relationship between the existing realities and the struggle for social justice.

Obviously there are sharp differences between the CPI and the CPI(M) on the basic questions, which has a direct bearing on the political policies of the two parties.

That explains that in the assessment of the CPI, the alternative path will mean first and foremost "the replacement of the Congress or any other form of bourgeois rule" by a government composed of anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist and anti-monopolist classes and forces". "Emphasis added".

21 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] Quite apart from the basic differences between the CPI and the CPI(M) over the class character of Indian state and their strategic objectives, there are certain other important areas in which the two parties have conflicting assessments in varying degrees. As a matter of fact these differences are directly related to the assessment of the Indian reality.

In the first instance as GANASHAKTI has put it "the CPI(M) is aiming to establish people's democracy under the leadership of the working class, while the CPI is still clinging to the theory of establishing a national democracy under a joint leadership of the working class and the bourgeoisie". This criticism of the CPI(M) about the perspective of the CPI does not reflect fully the concept of the latter. From the documents of the CPI, it becomes clear that the CPI now has come to the conclusion that it would be wrong to follow mechanically the models of the other countries and the specific historical background of India's development with all its complexities and unique characteristics should be kept in mind.

That being the position, in the transitional period of national democratic revolution, the CPI visualises that the working class may have to share power and leadership with other classes. The CPI looks at the question of establishing the leadership of the working class in the national democratic revolution as a process and not as a pre-condition, not an indispensable part of the concept of the national democratic front from the very beginning. Keeping in view the co-relation of class forces in India and the development of its national liberation struggle the question of leadership is not seen to be pre-determined and formulated in a static and pre-conceived manner but is linked with the advance of the struggle.

A most important and crucial question is the implication for India of the new world situation and the new thinking, the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the "inter-related, inter-dependent and integral world" with all its differences and contradictions. This international context of Indian revolution, the dynamic changes and perspectives for entering into the 21st century, the developing struggle for global cooperation for carrying out global tasks, the scientific and technological revolution are of key importance for India, which was not a participant in the industrial revolution. A leave all for enforcing universal human values requires open debate and collective thought on the broadest scale.

The great importance of the struggle for peace and disarmament, for an international economic order and against neo-colonialism and the debt trap, the emphasis on settling regional conflicts and on enforcing the new code which asserts freedom of choice for every country and the prevention of imperialist interventionist aggression are all of vital importance for India. This is how the CPI looks at the Indian struggle in the new international scenario. This obviously is a refreshing change in the perspective of the CPI.

Against this fresh perspective of analysing India in the context of the new concept of the "inter-related, inter-dependent and integral world: has a direct bearing on the question of the possibilities of the peaceful path. It may be mentioned in this connection that the perspective of exploring possibilities for the peaceful path for national democratic revolution, leading to a socialist revolution was approved by the united communist movement in its Amritsar party congress in 1958 with a margin of three votes. Since then this question has been attracting the attention of the Indian communist movement. It appears that the CPI has once again begun to look at this problem with an open mind though its vision is that a peaceful non-violent world does not mean that reaction will abjure violence in the class struggle.

If one leaves aside the motion of the CPI towards this fresh thinking on the question of the leadership of the working class and Indian peoples struggle for national democratic revolution through peaceful means in the new world situation, there are some other areas, where the CPI Congress has reiterated its position.

The CPI's stand on the fight against communalism, including pro-communist and fundamentalist tendencies in the congress has been emphasised in unmistakable terms. As a matter of fact the CPI while struggling to dislodge the Congress from power has made it abundantly clear that it would not relent on its fight against all varieties of communalism, Hindu communalism and fundamentalism in particular. Along with the tactics of "economic penetration and pressure and black mail of multinationals goes the political aggression of destabilisation of Indian political system", one of the documents of the CPI has underlined. In fact the CPI in the Calcutta Congress has underlined that "Khalistan terrorism, secessionist movements in Jammu and Kashmir, the armed insurgencies in the North-east" and the stepping up of the campaign of Hindu religious revivalism and the hegemonism with the RSS slogans of "Hindu culture, Hindus as a nation and now the open demand of India being declared a Hindu Republic "clearly bring out the danger not merely" of Indian fascism but also of disintegration and disruption of the country. Thus the CPI has begun to pick up the banner of national unity with a renewed vigour.

The CPI has also evaluated the role of the regional parties and regional organisations in the new context. Practical experience in the Congress was given about the

role of Shetkari Sangthan of Sharad Joshi, the Kisan Sangh and the Bhartiya Kisan Union of Mahendra Singh Tikait, Kheti Bari Union of Punjab and Gujarat and similar other organisations. Again and again it was emphasised that though some of these organisations mouth phrases about protecting the interests of the rural poor, they essentially represent the interests of the capitalist landlords and well-to-do peasants who carry on cultivation by hired labour.

It is in this scenario that the assessment of the CPI about the non-Congress State governments figured in the Congress prominently, which in the conformist mass media has been identified as the "Andhra line". Of course there was a viewpoint which advocated the policy of soft pedalling towards the non-Congress Governments in the States and finally perhaps a compromise formula was evolved. But the crux of the matter is that the experience of Punjab, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu and even of Karnataka led the CPI to come to the conclusion that in all these States, the process of disillusionment from these governments should not be ignored. Hence there was a growing emphasis on taking an independent stand in all these States. It is significant to mention in this connection that after Kerala, the CPI membership in Andhra Pradesh, Assam and UP [Uttar Pradesh] has registered an increase.

These new contours in the thinking of the CPI as reflected in this Congress cannot be seen in isolation from its national character and mass base. In the final analysis, in a vast country of India's size with its own complexities and uneven level of development, the pressure of the mass base and the thinking of the grass roots party cadres cannot be ignored. This also is a contributing factor in the process of the unification of the Indian communist movement, a point to which we will come later on.

The CPI today has a total membership of over 4.55 lakh. Out of 430 districts in the country, it has party district committees in about 395 districts with nearly 22,448 branches. This means that the CPI has a party structure in almost all the districts of the country.

What is of far reaching significance is that 41.45 percent of the CPI membership is in the Hindi-speaking areas. This in itself shows why the CPI is more determined than perhaps any other political force to wage a determined struggle against Hindu revivalism and fundamentalism. The survival of the party itself demands that it should take a firm position on this most crucial question. The experience of the party itself has shown that more determined you are against communalism, brighter become the chances of emergence of the party as an important political factor. [as published] The role of the party in Punjab for instance is the single biggest factor which has put the party on the national scene as a crusader against fundamentalism and fanaticism.

As against this, the CPI(M) has its own limitations. Out of its total membership of 4.65 lakh, Kerala and West Bengal account for 70 percent of the total membership of the CPI(M). The total membership of the CPI on the other hand from West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura is 23.62 percent. The regional and State wise membership of the two parties also plays an important role in shaping the policies of the two parties. IN this sense the CPI is a national party, though unlike the CPI(M) it does not have concentrated strength in States except perhaps in Bihar.

Comparative study of the composition of the membership of the two parties in itself is an interesting subject. The working class membership of the CPI(M) is 11.5 percent in West Bengal, which along with Kerala accounts for 70 percent of the total membership of the party. It has highest membership from working class from Maharashtra which is around 23.8 percent. The membership of the CPI from the working class is 10.28 percent and if you add to this figure the figures of self-employed and other working people, the figure comes to nearly 17 percent. Thus notwithstanding the fact that the weighage of the working class membership in the CPI is higher than the CPI(M), it has not given the call of building a national democratic front under the leadership of the working class.

There is yet another significant aspect of the membership of the CPI. Almost one-third of the CPI membership, roughly 29.28 percent comes from the rural poor and another 23.53 percent from the poor peasants. Thus the working class, the rural poor and the poor peasant account for nearly 59.67 percent of the membership of the party. This means that the CPI is really a party of the rural and urban poor because out of every ten members, six members come from the working masses. It is something about which the CPI leaders have a sense of pride.

Though no comparative study can be made about the composition of the membership of the CPI and the CPI(M) in this respect, one fact is quite revealing. The CPI(M) mass base is mainly confined to Kerala and West Bengal.

Nevertheless, there are two disturbing aspects about the membership of the CPI. It has a very narrow base in the youth. It has only 1.76 percent members from the students and teachers constitute only 1.26 percent of the total membership. This possibility is also true in the case of the CPI(M), though the CPI(M) has begun to attract the younger generation in the recent years. According to some figures, in a large number of States, CPI(M) has begun to attract the younger generation in the recent years. According to some figures, in a large number of States, CPI(M) members who are under 40 years are between 60 and 75 percent. In the country as a whole almost three quarters of members of the CPI(M) are under 40 years of age. In fact 30 to 40 percent of all members in the party joined as late as in 1985. This means that the national image which the CPI(M) has



built for itself combined with the fact that it is in power in two States has begun to attract the younger generation. The growing frustration among the youth and its radicalisation have become an asset for the CPI(M). Naturally anti-Congressism and anti-establishment feelings of the youth are being harnessed by the CPI(M) more effectively than the CPI leadership.

A close scrutiny of the two parties also reveals that both the communist parties are male dominated parties and that too in a period when a spirit of reawakening among the women has begun to assert itself vigorously. The CPI has only 14 thousand members from among women.

All said and done the prospects of the communist unity in India continue to be bleak. This process can only be accelerated if the two parties conduct a frank and open discussion on the ideological problems in a friendly manner without any polemical attacks on each other and take steps to unite the mass organisations in which they work. If the two Communist Parties unite with a total membership of nine lakh they can transform the political climate in the country. Nonetheless the problem of the communist unity should not be seen merely as a unity between the two communist parties. There are other communist formations, the Indian Communist Party (Dange-Mohit faction) and the Naxalities which should become an integral part of the communist movement, along with thousands of the so-called unattached Marxists. There is no short cut to it. Will this happen? The answer is that it will depend on the democratisation of the communist movement on the one hand and on the concrete study of the Indian reality on the other. The subjective estimate that the CPI will disintegrate, one section going to the CPI(M) and another to the Congress has again turned out to be wrong. On the contrary, the CPI leaders after the Calcutta Congress are more self-confident about themselves and seem to be on a stronger wicket than before. This, however, does not mean that their call for communist unity will not create its impact on the left oriented cadres and masses, including those in the CPI(M) and its mass following.

#### **CPI-M Leader Describes Party Stand on DMK, BJP**

46001398 *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*  
4 Mar 89 p 5

[Article by E.M.S. Namboodiripad: "Why the DMK is Acceptable and the BJP Is Not"]

[Text] The humiliating defeat of the Congress(I) in the January elections to the Tamil Nadu Assembly was a heavy blow personally to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Having toured the state more than half-a-dozen times in the period of the election campaign which he led personally, he had to see his party coming out as the third—after Mr Karunanidhi's DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] and Ms Jayalalitha's AIADMK [All India Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam], the two formations which he called with contempt "the Dravidian parties.

The DMK coming out once again as the ruling party in the state is of great political significance because it indicates a change in Tamil Nadu politics. No more is this "Dravidian" party as anti-Hindi as it once was. As a matter of fact, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in his campaign speeches had hammered the point that here is an "opportunist compromise between the Hindi and Tamil chauvinists." If he had any regard for truth, he would have conceded that the coming together of the north-based National Front and the South-based DMK shows the common determination of both to fight the chauvinism of both varieties. Genuine national integration demands determined struggles against "Hindi the sole official language" and "no Hindi," the stands of the two varieties of linguistic chauvinism.

It will in this context be relevant to recall that the DMK at one stage was not only anti-Hindi but pro-English. We communists have opposed this linguistic separatist stand and championed the cause of (a) equality of all Indian languages, (b) Hindi to be studied and used as a link language voluntarily but not to be imposed administratively, (c) English to be replaced by the mother tongue as the official language and medium of instruction, etc. This being the only basis on which the linguistic chauvinism of both varieties can be fought, all champions of national integration should welcome the DMK having associated itself with the National front which has its mass base in the Hindi-speaking north India. This betokens the abandonment by the DMK of its earlier strident anti-Hindi and pro-English posture.

Relevant is also the fact that, in its entire election campaign, the DMK did not use the India-Sri Lanka accord as a stick to beat the Congress and its central government with (which it had done earlier). After the election too, Mr Karunanidhi as chief minister is trying to use his good offices for bringing about peace in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka. Here again, it should be noted that we communists had to demarcate ourselves from the DMK which at one stage appeared to us to be smacking of Tamil chauvinism.

**Religious minorities all over the country, including the Hindi region, will be repelled by open alliance or seat adjustments between the National Front, Janata Dal and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. (This will be counter-productive.**

While the DMK's partnership in the National Front and earlier associations with the communists would thus help that party to be rid of whatever remains in their original anti-Hindi, anti-north stand, it will have a healthy impact on the north-based National Front. No more will it be a vehicle of Hindi chauvinism. The north-south divide will thus be put in check from both ends. The basis for this had in fact been laid at the Srinagar conference of non-BJP Opposition parties



(October 1983) on Centre-state relations. The DMK was a partner to the consensus document with its emphasis on national unity and an effective Centre as well as wide autonomy for the states.

The real significance of the DMK victory in the Assembly elections lies in the powerful boost it gave to the dissidents in the Congress to redouble their moves against the leadership. The happenings in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Gujarat where the leadership was compelled to compromise with the "rebels" are a portent of the future. No more are the active cadres and masses following the dumb camp-followers of "the leader" who has ceased to be the "vote-catcher" that his predecessors were.

The result of this will not be a mere intensification of factional conflicts. It will also raise questions of policy, such as those posed by a Chimanbhai Mehta here or a Kamlapati Tripathi there. Lack of democratic functioning, the Prime Minister acting through coteries, bogus membership, refusal to hold organisational elections, etc have come to the forefront in statements issued, letters written and in several other ways, the need for an end to electoral alliances with communal parties, a shift to the Left in terms of policies, etc., are raised by them. One of those who raised these issues has in fact raised the demand for an alternate leadership for the party.

It is against this background that the emergence of the two distinct forces in the Opposition circles has to be seen. The reference here is to the right reactionary and communal outfit led by the BJP on the one hand and the secular forces among which the Left parties occupy an important place on the other. It may be noted that there are sections in some of the "centrist" parties who want to "do business" with both the Left on the one hand and the BJP and other parties on the other. This, however, is a futile exercise because:

(a) The BJP through its demand for winding up the Minorities Commission and the scrapping of Article 370 of the Constitution has proclaimed itself an anti-minority party. The centrist Opposition parties (the National Front and the Janata Dal) on the other hand have gone on record in favour of not only continuing but upgrading the status of the Minorities Commission and the continuance of Article 370 in the Constitution. Furthermore, the BJP in Maharashtra has, for some time, been working for an alliance with the Shiv Sena on the basis of "protection of Hindu interests" against which the Janata Dal leaders in the state have taken exception.

(b) The BJP is in sharp opposition to the country's foreign policy of peace nonalignment and cooperation with socialist countries. Centrist Opposition formations like the National Front and the Janata Dal on the other hand stand for the continuance and strengthening of the country's traditional foreign policy.

(c) The BJP is an avowedly anti-Left party. It sees in the communists, socialists and other Left forces the main danger to the nation and its culture. Centrist Opposition parties on the other hand are basically committed to the values of radical democracy, secularism and socialism.

In terms of policies, therefore, the centrist parties cannot afford to go with the BJP and against the Left. They, however, are put under immense pressure to distance themselves from the Left and align themselves with the BJP. This is possible because of the general impression that the help of the BJP is required—nationally and in the Hindi-speaking states in particular.

Reality, however, is in sharp contrast to this impression. For, there are a considerable number of people belonging to religious minorities all over the country including the Hindi region. These will be repelled by open alliance or seat adjustments between the National Front, Janata Dal and the BJP. Even from the short-term view of electoral tactics, therefore, an alliance or even adjustment of seats with the BJP will be counter-productive, helping the Rajiv Gandhi Congress to beat the Opposition by its securing support of the minority communities.

It is, however, not from the short-term view that the question of political alliances should be seen. More important is the long-term view—how to take the country out of the all-round crisis—crisis of the economy, of politics, of socio-cultural life—into which four decades long Congress rule has landed the country. Will it be of benefit to the nation if the Congress government is replaced by another which is likely to pursue policies which do not help to solve the all-round crisis through which it is passing, thanks to the path of development followed by the Congress government since its leaders became the rulers of the country? Will it be an improvement if the alternative that emerges is so divided politically and factionally that, like the Janata government of 1977-79, it falls in a short time?

**The DMK's partnership in the National Front would help that party to be rid of whatever remains in their original anti-Hindi, anti-north stand; it will have a healthy impact on the north-based National front.**

To pose the above questions is to answer them. Removing the Rajiv Gandhi government of course is the first task to be discharged: failure to realise this objective would prevent the solution of every other problem. But, as was proved in 1977-79, the coming of power of a conglomerate of disparate elements would not solve any problems. What is necessary is a political administrative set-up which offers an alternate set of policies. This means that the alternative should, firstly, be programme-based; secondly, the programme which is to form the basis of this alternative should be radical democratic, secular and oriented to socialism; thirdly, this political set-up should consist of parties and organisations which have proved in practice that they stand loyally by the radical democratic and socialism-oriented programme.

The National Campaign Committee of four Left parties and three other organisations has provided the outlines of such a programme. It is based on and further carries forward the consensus arrived at by the non-BJP Opposition parties at Srinagar in October 1983 and January 1984. The Campaign Committee in its policy statement issued on January 11 called on all other secular Opposition forces to join in a nationwide campaign for popularising that programme.

It is obvious that neither the ruling Congress Party nor parties like the BJP would join the campaign which is intended to throw the Congress out of power and to isolate the likes of the BJP among the people. Everybody else is welcome to join and will hopefully join. The internal situation in the ruling Congress Party and Opposition parties like the BJP is such that large sections of the ranks and mass following of these parties would also join. The campaign that will be undertaken by the National Campaign Committee will thus be the beginning of a new forward movement cutting across existing political parties and involving the large non-party mass.

#### **Paper Reports Developments in Marxist-Leninist Party**

##### **Delhi Rally 9 Mar**

46001393 *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English*  
10 Mar 89 p 8

[Article: "CPI(ML) Calls for Alternative System"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 9—A large number of activists of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninists) yesterday held a massive rally here to "launch a decisive battle to build a revolutionary alternative."

The rally started from the historic Red Fort to the Boat Club lawns carrying placards, raising slogans, urging people to fight corruption, exploitation, communalism and terrorism from a new platform by joining hands with their party.

On their way, the activists in the rally demonstrated outside the supreme court to protest against the court's verdict on compensation for the victims of the Bhopal gas leak. The rallyists shouted slogans demanding that foreign capital in India be confiscated immediately and compensation sanctioned be increased without delay.

Speaking to the gathering at the Boat Club, the party's general secretary, Mr K. Ramachandra, called upon the people to strengthen their hand in organising united action at the national level to uproot the present government. He presented a 27-point charter of demands.

The action programme announced at the meeting included organising struggles of the broad masses of the peasantry against landlords and the government on

specific issues, writing off rural and urban debt of the toiling sections of the peasantry and fight against the price rises, hike in fares and hoarding of essential commodities.

The speakers at the rally also called for scrapping of the Disturbed Areas Act, National Security Act, Anti-terrorists Act, the 59th Constitution Amendment Act and all other such "draconian acts."

##### **Interview With Ramachandran**

46001393 *THE TIMES OF INDIA in English*  
15 Mar 89 p 13

[Article by V. R. Mani: "Armed Uprising Only Way Out in AP: Naxal Leader"]

[Text] THE TIMES OF INDIA NEWS SERVICE, Trivandrum, March 14—The Naxalite leader and supremo of the CPI-ML [Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist] (Red Flag) group, Mr K. N. Ramachandran, fully backs the "annihilation of class enemies" in Andhra Pradesh by the People's War Group, led by Kondappalli Seetharamiah, and is emphatic that an armed uprising is the only way to achieve a revolutionary change.

In an exclusive interview to THE TIMES OF INDIA NEWS SERVICE, the 50-year-old former engineer has said an armed revolution is necessary not because Communists want violence but "because the present system is maintained through the strength of arms."

"The state is armed from head to foot and to overthrow it we will have to take up arms," he says and cites the alleged police atrocities against Girijans demanding minimum wages in Andhra Pradesh as an instance of the state's oppressive might.

He has disclosed that step by step armed training will be given to the cadres. At the same time, efforts are on to bring together all Naxalite groups which have not deviated from the Marxist line.

As the first step, Naxalites from various groups have joined hands in the cultural field by launching the all-India League of Revolutionary Culture, he says.

Also, in January, "thousands of comrades" from various revolutionary organisations took part in the anti-Fascist convention in Trichur.

According to Mr Ramachandran, four Naxalite groups, led by Venu (Kerala), Santosh Rana Vaskar Nandi (Bengal), Kanu Sanyal (Bengal), and Vinod Misra (Bihar) are following an anti-Marxist line.

To him, Venu, with whom he fell out sometime back, is negating the "comprehensive social revolution" by seeing India as a country of many nationalities. "In effect, it is a national chauvinist line which has no connection with class struggle."

#### Uttarkhand Stir

Similarly, for Santosh Rana Vaskar Nandi, the main question is caste and ethnic conflicts. He considers struggles for Jharkhand and Uttarkhand as model struggles. This, to Mr Ramachandran, is confining oneself to "narrow sectarian position" which are essentially anti-Marxist.

The lines followed by Kanu Sanyal and Vinod Misra are far from the path shown by Marx, he contends. While Sanyal advocates alliance with the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the Janata Dal to defeat the Congress Misra is upholding the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachov's "perestroika" and "glasnost".

Mr Ramachandran admits that the "initial" setback to the Naxalite movement, launched by Charu Mazumdar in 1967 following "ideological" differences within the CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist], has basically been because it could not be developed as an agrarian revolution. The final aim of his "Red Flag" group, which he claims has roots in Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Maharashtra, apart from Kerala, is to achieve a "people's democratic revolution" with agrarian revolution as its basic line.

He thinks that none of the socialist countries today follows the Marxist line. While the Soviet Union is just a "social imperialist power" (socialism in words and imperialism in deeds), like the U.S., China, under Deng, is "an agent of imperialism", which is slipping back to the cultural-cultural revolution days. "Revisionists have come to power in China and deviated from the socialist path abandoning the lessons of the cultural revolution," he feels.

The Russian, he says, Mr Kurshev abandoned class struggle and moved towards the capitalist path. The socialist economic base was converted into a capitalist economic path and this spawned a new bureaucratic class. It is this class, he reasons, which is benefiting from "perestroika" and "glasnost" which in essence are the continuation of the Kurshevian policy. "What is happening in Russian now is nothing new."

In fact, the Soviet Union and the United States are colluding with each other to suppress the people. It is as part of this "design" that they are now supporting India and "indulging in neo-colonial plunder".

He has charged that the recent hike in the price of ration rice has been at the behest of the World Bank and the IMF. Because of this, the Red Flag group protested against World Bank officials when they came to Cochin recently.

On the moves by the CPI [Communist Party of India] to enlist the support of Naxalite groups, Mr Ramachandran says they are pseudo-Communists and will be rejected. The idea should not be to replace Mr Rajiv Gandhi with Mr V. P. Singh because he cannot be the "revolutionary alternative".

Asked when the state would wither away, he said that the first task was to "destroy imperialism for ever" and a complete world revolution. "Only then can the state wither away," he said.

#### Reasons for India's Seeking IMF Loan Examined 46001389 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

[Article by Tapan Dasgupta: "Desperate Govt. Seeks IMF Loan"]

[Excerpt] THE TIMES OF INDIA NEWS SERVICE—New Delhi, March 18—India is seeking an IMF [International Monetary Fund] loan, the second since 1981, to overcome its balance of payment difficulties. The finance secretary, Mr S. Venkitaramanan, has returned to India from Washington after the initial probing, while Mr Gopi Arora who will take over as finance secretary next week, will rush to Washington on March 29 for negotiations.

The loan, to be provided by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) under its extended fund facility, is likely to be anything between SDR [Special Drawing Rights] 3 billion and SDR 5 billion (between Rs 5,100 and Rs 8,600 crores) depending on the availability of funds.

The government is approaching the IMF, despite the risk of an adverse political fall-out, because of a sharp fall in foreign exchange reserves which at the present level are hardly sufficient to finance the country's import bill for two and a half months. According to the latest data, the foreign exchange reserves at the end of February 17, 1989 stood at Rs 5,035 crores, which, at the current exchange rates, would be equivalent to \$327 million.

The choice is clearly between a very severe curtailment of imports and keeping investment going by making use of the extended arrangement of the IMF. However, it is possible that the government will start making use of the loan to replenish the country's foreign exchange reserves after the general elections, the current year being an election year. This decision will depend on whether a series of measures, to be taken within the next two months to keep a check on the import bill, shows the desired results.

The need for the IMF loan has arisen from the fact that it will be difficult to launch the eighth plan without an improvement in the current balance of payment deficit. It has also been realised at the highest level that unbridled consumerism in the name of liberalisation during the last four years has probably been a mistake which has to be corrected.

There is now a clear perception that commercial borrowings which are essentially short-term, cannot go on unchecked. So far, India has been able to secure these loans on favourable terms. But, with a fall in the foreign exchange reserves and a rise in the debt service ratio to over 30 percent, the lending terms are bound to harden. An improvement in the balance of payment position as a result of the IMF loan will also improve India's credit rating in the international financial market.

The earlier record loan of SDR 5 billion (\$5.6 billion) from the IMF was signed on November 9, 1981. The loan was to be disbursed over a three-year period, but following sharp criticism at home over the conditionality clauses, India did not avail to the last tranche of SDR 0.9 billion (\$1.1 billion). The repayment of the IMF loan started from 1984, and during the last five years, over \$2 billion has been repaid. India can, therefore, argue that it is entitled to a loan of at least \$3 billion.

The main hurdle in negotiating the loan will be the IMF's insistence on conditionality clauses. India hopes that the IMF will not be too insistent on curbing government expenditure on food and fertiliser subsidies, which in the present political situation is out of the question. Some other conditions such as bringing down the revenue deficit and the budgetary deficit as also fixing a ceiling on compound internal borrowing, are objectives of fiscal prudence, and are, therefore, acceptable to the government. [passage omitted]

**Exports Growth Helps Contain Trade Deficit**  
46001392 Madras THE HINDU in English  
13 Mar 89 p 1

[Article: "Exports Growth Helps Contain Trade Deficit"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 12—In spite of the sharp rise in imports this year, the trade deficit at the end of March is likely to be contained within the range of Rs 6,000-7,000 crores, as in the last few years.

This turn-around from the earlier situation—of runaway growth in imports while exports stagnated at around 22 per cent—has come about with the export growth spurring to over 24.4 percent during April-December 1988. The acceleration has also been maintained in January this year and the export growth is estimated to have reached 27 percent. Initially, the expectation in the Commerce Ministry was that the financial year would end with an overall export growth of about 27 percent. The final figure may therefore be higher.

At the same time, imports have also grown. But the close monitoring by the Committee of Secretaries since the latter half of 1988 has helped in constricting the growth somewhat. The optimism in containing the trade deficit has also arisen from the expected improvement in agricultural production, which will help in cutting down some of the farm imports towards the beginning of the year.

**Encouraging:** According to provisional data available with the Commerce Ministry, the exports during April-December was about Rs. 14,000 crores, as against Rs. 15,719 crores for the whole of 1987-88.

Even more encouraging is the fact that monthly average of exports is estimated to have already increased to Rs. 1,919.26 crores in January 1989 from Rs. 1,435.79 crores during the same period last year. While it is not possible to precisely estimate the export earnings for the full year, the Ministry is of the opinion that the annual target of Rs. 18,795 crores would be exceeded. It may even reach Rs. 20,000 crores, set informally for the various export promotional councils.

**More difficult:** On the import front, estimating the final figure is even more difficult. However, during the first nine months of the current financial year, the total performance was around Rs. 20,528 crores. With the thumb rule of Rs. 5,000-6,000-crore imports in three months, the estimate is that the final figure may be in the region of Rs. 26,000-27,000 crores.

The trade deficit is, therefore, expected to be up in the "accepted" range of Rs. 6,000-7,000 crores. In 1987-88, the trade deficit was Rs. 6,623.60 crores while in the preceding year it was Rs. 7,516.90 crores. Although the deficit would still be on the high side, the trends towards the beginning of the year were rather alarming. At that time, the deficit was almost the double of that recorded in the same period of 1987-88.

While full details of the imports will be available only later this year, provisional data for April-September, when imports spurred, show that significant jumps were recorded in case of cereals and cereal preparations, edible oils, pulses and some organic and inorganic chemicals. There was also a big jump in the import of pearls, precious and semi-precious stones. But the increase in the export of gems and jewellery covered the increase in imports.

Some other items which registered increases in imports in varying degrees mainly include manufactured fertilizers, non-ferrous metals, metalliferous ores and metal scrap, iron and steel, electrical machinery, project goods, artificial resins and plastic materials and professional scientific instruments. Surprisingly, the import of raw wool, watches and clocks, and paper and paper boards and manufacturers, including newsprint, also registered an increase.



In contrast, exports of chemicals and related products, gems and jewellery and minerals and ores are running well above the targeted levels during the year. Chemical exports registered an increase of 69.25 percent during April-January while gems and jewellery exports went up by 71.84 percent, minerals and ores by 57.62 percent, engineering goods by 30.79 percent, handicrafts by 33.13 percent, leather and leather manufactures by 21.75 percent, and marine products by 17.09 percent.

While the Committee of Secretaries is expected to continue to keep a close watch on imports, the Commerce Ministry is pushing ahead with the need to increase exports. In this context, a national convention on exports is being organised by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry here on March 15. The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, is expected to deliver the valedictory address. The Commerce Minister, Mr Dinesh Singh, will inaugurate the convention.

#### **Major Breakthrough in Fuel Technology Announced**

46001406 New Delhi *PATRIOT in English*  
21 Mar 89 p 5

[Article: "Breakthrough in Fuel Technology"]

[Text] Bangalore, March 20 (PTI)—A major breakthrough in polymeric fuel technology has been made at the Inorganic Chemistry Department of the Indian Institute of Science (IIS) here with the development of a smokeless solid propellant, which can be adapted as a missile fuel.

A team of chemists led by Prof Kaushal Kishor, researching polymeric peroxides which have very high combustion rates unlike commonly used polymeric fuel, found that the new fuel, besides increasing combustion efficiency, also augments energy release and has a faster burning rate.

The ratio of fuel content to oxidizer is higher than conventional solid fuels, and when packed in air-breathing missiles such fuel can keep the projectile going for a longer time-period.

The team has approached the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) for adapting the fuel for the indigenous missile programme.

Prof Kishore said a major strategic advantage of the new fuel was that since the burning was smokeless, it overcame the problem of sighting and also that of infrared signature as it cannot be tracked by infrared detectors.

He said unlike simple organic peroxides, the polymeric peroxides were safe to handle and did not pose problems of storage, however, accelerated studies would have to be carried out to assess the hazards of ageing, if any.

Prof Kishore said the first step towards use of polymeric peroxides as fuel dated back to 1982 when an unusual property of exothermic degradation (release of energy while degradation), was observed by Dr V. Gayatri and Mr K. Ravindran, two of the team's researchers.

Prof Kishore said the twin properties of exothermic degradation and auto combustion (continuous burning, once ignited), made the polymeric peroxides prime candidates for rocket fuel.

The team had synthesised several classes of polymeric peroxides and found naphthalene based peroxides released more energy and burned better, he said.

In conventional missile fuel, the fuel content was 20 percent while the remaining 80 percent was made up to an oxidizer, a heavy combustion supporting agent. In polymeric peroxide fuel, 70 percent would be fuel and 30 percent oxidizer, thereby reducing the dead weight.

The discovery of the auto combustible polymeric fuel had led to an active programme on the application of polystyrene peroxide fuel in solid propellants in the west.

An earlier work done on propellants by the IIS team had helped develop an apogee boost motor for the Japanese N-2 space launch vehicle, he added.

#### **Foodgrain Prices Reported To Reach Record Levels**

46001390 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH in English*  
6 Mar 89 p 8

[Article: "Foodgrain Prices Touch record Levels in '88-89"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 5 (PTI)—Despite the optimism expressed in the Economic Survey, the price situation—particularly with regard to food—continues to cause concern.

The average level of the wholesale price index (WPI) for food articles in the current year is over 10 percent higher than in 1987-88. The rate of inflation for food articles was only 8.26 percent in the drought year of 1987-88, 6.60 percent in 1986-87, 7.07 percent in 1985-86 and 4.95 percent in 1984-85.

Inflationary pressures are specially severe in foodgrains. According to data published in the Economic Survey, the rate of rise in the price for rice is now running at 11.66 percent, while for wheat it is 10.12 percent, and for pulses, it is a staggering 31.08 percent. In all these commodities, prices currently are ruling much stronger than at any time in the past five years. Between 1984-85 and 1987-88, the average rates of inflation have been 6.12 percent for rice, 7.25 percent for wheat, and 12.35 percent for pulses.

The overall impact of inflation this year has, however, been mitigated somewhat by declines of 8.66 percent and 0.43 percent respectively in the prices of edible oils and non-food primary articles. Besides, there have been only very moderate increases of 3.43 percent of minerals, 4.50 percent for fuel, power, light and lubricants, 3.34 percent for food products, and 5.30 percent for chemicals and chemical products.

Compounding the situation is the depletion of the food buffer stock to below permissible levels. The total stock of foodgrains with state and Central agencies as on December 31, 1988 stood at 9,481 million tonnes—below half the level of stocks (operational and buffer) that the government is committed to holding at that point of time.

Despite official projections of a bumper harvest, the procurement of rice in the current kharif season has been only 6.254 million tonnes as on March. Though this is in excess of the 5.52 million tonnes that was procured in the corresponding period of 1987-88, it is well below the 7.685 million tonnes procured in 1986-87.

Observers feel that most of the rice harvest has gone into private warehouses, and could be used to fuel a speculative price rise in coming months. The depletion of government stocks could further enhance inflationary pressures. As the 1982 technical group on buffer stocking policy has observed, "The adequacy of the food buffer stock strongly influences behaviour of the trade in regard to speculative stockholding or hoarding and profiteering".

Unless allotments are stepped up, supply bottlenecks in foodgrains could neutralise the government's efforts to enhance purchasing power in rural areas.

#### **Papers Report, Comment on Thakkar Commission Report**

##### **Synopsis of Report**

46001380 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
15 Mar 89 p 9

[Article: "Thakkar Probe Report Synopsis"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 14—The following is a synopsis of the Thakkar Commission report on the assassination of Indira Gandhi.

The picture which emerges on an overall assessment of the totality of the circumstances enumerated at the outset, and elaborated thereafter may now be summarised by way of recapitulation.

A very strange event occurred on the eve of the assassination of the late P.M. in regard to the time for TV interview scheduled for the next day. The event is shrouded in mystery. The time for the TV interview with the Irish TV team on the next day was fixed for 8:30 a.m. on the night of October 30, 1984 in the aircraft on its

flight from Orissa to New Delhi in consultation with the late P.M. Engagement sheet for the P.M.'s programme for the next day was prepared to the knowledge and with the approval of Shri Dhawan by the staff (Shri Dave, M.M.N. Sharma and M.C. Sharma) at the P.M. House mentioning the appointment for 8:30 a.m. Even so the Irish TV team and the Information Advisor (Shri Sharda Prasad) were informed late at night by some one that the appointment was shifted to (9:00 a.m. And instead of the engagement sheet prepared by the staff, a sheet showing only one engagement viz TV interview for 9:00 a.m. was sent to the reception. None of the members of the staff who were on duty at the P.M. house till a later hour that night knew about the shift. None of them had telephoned to the Irish TV team or to the Information Advisor. None of them had typed any engagement sheet showing 9:00 a.m. as the time for the TV interview. The engagement sheet sent to the late P.M. was the one prepared by the staff showing the appointment for TV interview at 8:30 a.m. Apparently the late P.M. herself was under the impression that the appointment was for 8:30 a.m. and knew nothing about the shift of time to 9:00 a.m. The secretive manner in which the manoeuvre was made viewed in the light of the fact that the assassination occurred on the heels thereof gives rise to an inference that it was done in order to facilitate the crime. This manipulation cannot be explained on any innocuous hypothesis. If there was nothing sinister in the manoeuvre why was it made stealthily behind the back of everyone concerned? Why else was it made at all? Why should any one take all the trouble and work in a surreptitious manner unless some purpose was to be served? The sequence of events is also highly significant and eloquent. This mysterious manipulation on the night of 30th October, 1984 was followed by the assassination when the late P.M. was on her way to keep the appointment. On probabilities therefore it stands to reason to infer that there was a nexus between the two events.

##### **No One Else Knew**

And there is reason to believe that this manipulation was made by Shri R.K. Dhawan, the then Special Assistant to the late P.M. The evidence, which there is no conceivable reason to doubt or disbelieve, shows that no other member of the staff knew anything about this mysterious manoeuvre pertaining to the shifting of the time of TV interview from 8:30 a.m. to 9:00 a.m. None of them could have done so without the authority or knowledge of Dhawan. It is not the version of Dhawan that it was done by any one with his authority or under his instructions. In fact his version is that he knows nothing about the change in the time for interview. That some one had meddled with the time for the appointment is established beyond any doubt. And since the other members of the staff on duty on that night could not have done it without the knowledge of others and without taking the risk of being found out, on all probabilities by the process of elimination it appears that Dhawan was responsible in this behalf. Thus the needle of suspicion significantly points at his complicity or involvement.

The time for TV interview mentioned in the master diary maintained by Shri Dhawan for noting the appointments of the late P.M. was 8:30 a.m. to 9:30 a.m. But this was rubbed off by Shri Sikri (the then PA to the late P.M.) and in its place 8:45 a.m. to 9:45 a.m. was noted down on the morning of October 31, 1984, the date of the assassination, at the instance of Dhawan. There is direct and circumstantial evidence which satisfactorily establishes that the alteration was made at his instance. Now according to Dhawan he was not aware of any change in timing of TV interview which was scheduled for 8:30 a.m. In that case why did he ask Sikri to make an alteration in the diary so that 8:30 a.m. to 9:30 a.m. was rubbed off and 8:45 to 9:45 a.m. was noted on the rubbed off portion? And why does Dhawan disclaim any knowledge about it? The inference reasonably arises that Dhawan has a guilty conscience and the alteration in the diary by done by way of a cover up operation. In this connection it may be borne in mind that when Dhawan was interrogated on 28-12, 1984 by Shri Anandaram, Dhawan had stated that he had a talk with the late P.M. in the car on the way from the airport to P.M.'s residence regarding putting off this appointment. While she did not agree to put off the appointment she agreed to shift it to 8:45 or 9:00 a.m. Dhawan possibly had in his mind this version which he had contemplated to put forth in future so that the restlessness shown by the late P.M. from as early as 8:20 and 8:40 a.m. which indicated that she was not aware of the shifting of the interview to 9:00 a.m. did not arouse any suspicion. And it was perhaps with this factor in his mind that Dhawan had asked Sikri to make the alteration. Again, except in the context of his version to Shri Anandaram, 8:45 does not figure anywhere. For the time originally fixed was 8:30 a.m. whereas the time intimated to the TV team and the Information Advisor was 9:00 a.m. Dhawan however went back on this statement when he was interrogated by the Commission later, and stated that there was no talk in the car regarding change of time for TV interview. He backed out perhaps because he realised that the 'talk-in-the-car-theory' would not hold water when and if the other members of the staff were interrogated. He must have realised that they would say that the TV interview was fixed for 8:30 a.m. and it was so specified in the programme sheet for the next day with his approval after he came back from the airport. If the late P.M. had in fact agreed to shift the time to 8:45 or 9:00 a.m. on the way from the airport Dhawan would have been expected to tell the staff to make the alteration accordingly when his approval was sought for typing out the engagement sheets, on his return after the talk in the car. Faced with this irreconcilable situation he had, it so appears, to go back on the earlier statement wherein 8:45 figured and he had to lie in regard to the alteration in the diary entry mentioning 8:45 which appears to have been made to support the version regarding the talk in the car. He went back on the statement regarding the talk in the car but the alternation made in the diary entry would not be revised by him. That is how he has found himself in deep waters. Thus this is another factor revealing his guilt consciousness and a strongpointer to his involvement.

### Strengthened

And the suspicion is reinforced when the matter is viewed in the light of the directions given by Dhawan to the security officials:

Shri Dhawan had on June 19, 1984 directed the DCP [Deputy Chief of Police] (I. Shri C.R. Gupta) of the SSD [expansion unknown], in the name of the late P.M. to redeploy the Sikh security personnel which included Beant Singh who had been earlier removed from postings on strategic points where the late P.M. would be exposed to them. The version of Dhawan in this behalf is that the direction given by him to the DCP was "not" to post the Sikh personnel on such duty points but that this direction was disobeyed by the DCP. His version is an extremely wobbly one, "is lacking in credibility and is in conflict with probabilities. On the other hand the version of DCP, SSD and the other officials that Dhawan's instruction was just to the contrary that is to say to "repost" Sikh personnel at strategic points appears to be true. The manner of actual implementation on the next day shows that Dhawan's version is not true. In fact there is reason to believe that:

(i) Dhawan had in all probability acted on his own and issued instructions in the name of the late P.M. without her knowledge (why?).

(ii) Dhawan's version is untrue. (why does he lie?). This is another significant suspicion-factor which indicates the possible involvement of Dhawan, for if Dhawan had not given the said instructions to the DCP neither Beant Singh nor Satwant Singh would have been able to commit the crime. What Dhawan has done seems to be akin to keeping the door of the house open for the assassin to be able to enter the house in order to commit the crime.

The picture becomes murkier when it is realized that:

(1) Shri Dhawan was close to the assassin Beant Singh and yet he maintains most unconvincingly that he knew Beant Singh only by face and not even by name;

(2) Assassin Beant Singh had asked Satwant Singh to take special care not to hurt Dhawan;

(3) Dhawan had made inquiry on the wireless network from AllMS [All India Institute of Medical Sciences] as to what had happened to the assailants;

(4) It was possibly at the instance of Dhawan that assassin Beant Singh was retained in the security set-up instead of being removed from it a month or two before the assassination;

(5) The movements made by Beant Singh from his point of posting towards the P.M.'s House on the morning of 31-10, 1984 close to the time of assassination and the manner in which the P.M. was held back despite showing restlessness and annoyance.

These circumstances point to the complicity of Dhawan in the crime and invest with sinister significance the earlier mentioned suspicion factors viz: (a) Surreptitious change in time for TV appointment; (b) alteration made at his instance in the time for TV interview, in the appointment diary maintained by him; and (c) directions given by him to the DCP of the security set-up at the P.M. House to redeploy Sikh personnel at strategic points where the late P.M. would have been exposed to such personnel.

#### Fell Behind

Coupled with these circumstances is his conduct before and after the assassination such as:

(1) Though Dhawan was walking alongside the late P.M. and talking with her when she left 1, Safdarjang Road on foot to go towards 1, Akbar Road, he fell behind just in the nick of time when they were approaching the scene of assassination.

(2) Dhawan (who had been with the late P.M. for more than 20 years) did not even care to go near her and tend to her when she collapsed to the ground and was lying helpless in an injured condition at the scene of occurrence.

(3) Whilst Dhawan was at the AIIMS he caused messages to be sent to the Control Room at the P.M. house on the wireless network, making inquiry as to what happened to the assailants (including Beant Singh, who, it appears was known to him though he disclaims any familiarity with him).

(4) He has been gratuitously asserting from the beginning that when Beant Singh opened fire he was looking towards the ground and lifted his eyes only on hearing the shots (which perhaps betrays his guilt consciousness). This appears to be unnatural and smacks of attempt to build defenses in advance by a person with a guilt complex.

And the matters are made worse by Shri Dhawan for himself as apparently he has resorted to untruth (betraying thereby his guilt consciousness) on several occasions such as:

(1) When he disclaimed any familiarity with Beant Singh though the material on record shows that Beant Singh was fairly close to him.

(2) When he disclaimed any knowledge about the alteration of the time for TV interview in the master diary maintained by him for noting down the appointments of the late P.M. though the evidence shows that the alteration was made at his instance.

(3) When he stated before Shri Anandaram that he had a talk with the late P.M. in the car regarding change of time for TV interview and she had agreed to the shifting of the interview from 8:30 a.m. to 8:45 a.m., but went back on this story upon being interrogated by the Commission by stating that (1) there was no talk in the car regarding change of time and (2) he knew nothing about the change of time for TV interview.

(4) When he stated that the instructions given by him to the DCP of the security set-up at the P.M. house were not to post the Sikh security personnel at strategic points whereas the instructions issued by him in fact were just to the contrary, that is to say, to repost the Sikh security personnel at such points.

(5) When he stated that he had not given any instructions to the DCP of the P.M. house security set-up to post a Sikh personnel in the ring round team whereas he had given such instructions and the same were in point of fact implemented forthwith.

(6) When he gave a very unconvincing explanation regarding the entry in the notebook "Programme of Rajiv/P.M."

(7) When he gave a thoroughly unconvincing explanation regarding the entry made in his note-book reading "Bindra has links with America."

(8) When he gave an absolutely incredible explanation in regard to the entry (Entry dated October 21, 1984) made some 20 days before the assassination, pertaining to the President.

(9) When he gave yet another incredible explanation regarding the entry "President interfering in Punjab."

(10) When he gave a tendentious explanation regarding the entry "Person accompanying the P.M."

(11) When in regard to the entry in his note-book referring to 'Satwant Singh' and 'Foreign Money' he stated that it was made at the instance of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

(12) When he seeks shelter under the plea of inability to remember and fails to explain what he meant by "I found out when I contacted" (and what he found out) and failed to explain how and in what circumstances he came to make this part of the said entry.



(13) When he conveniently states that he is unable to decipher material parts of a jotting (in which the letters C.I.A. occur) made in shorthand in his office note-book by himself).

(14) When he pleaded inability to explain a mysterious entry (Point-9 or Point-7) made by him in his note-book within a day or two of the assassination.

....these circumstances are to be viewed in the light of the fact that Dhawan's loyalty was suspect as is revealed by material which shows that:

(1) he was sought to be removed from his post as Special Assistant to the late P.M. in early 1982;

(2) he was taken to task by the late P.M. in September, 1984 barely 2 months before the assassination;

(3) far from being loyal to the late P.M. he was snooping or spying on her; and

(4) he had kept back from the late P.M. sensitive papers in regard to the security measures proposed to be implemented subject to the approval of the late P.M....

#### **Opposition Leak Suspected**

46001380 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
15 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Tushar Bhatt: "Arun Nehru, Arif Had Tried To Win Over Dhawan"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 14—Some Opposition leaders, including Mr Arun Nehru, Mr Arif Mohammed Khan and Mr V.C. Shukla, had made efforts in vain to persuade Mr R. K. Dhawan, now back in office as aide to the Prime Minister, to come out openly against Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

Reliable sources said here today that a selective leak of some material from the top-secret Thakkar Commission report, which probed into the circumstances surrounding the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi, had come in the wake of the reinstatement of Mr Dhawan which had apparently angered the Opposition leaders. They hinted at the possibility of the leak having come from someone in the Opposition now, but who had earlier held a responsible position in the government.

The sources said that Mr Arif Mohammed Khan had met Mr Dhawan many times while he was in the wilderness after his departure from the Prime Minister's office four years ago. The last such meeting took place some three months ago. Mr Shukla had gone to see Mr Dhawan several times, and Mr Nehru had met him along with a journalist. The Opposition stalwarts had tried their hand at winning over Mr Dhawan to the Opposition camp in the belief that his presence could help them win over many Congressmen as Mr Dhawan knew the party functionaries very well.

The sources said that even though Mr Dhawan had not responded and had not come out against Mr Rajiv Gandhi at any time during the past four years, the Opposition leaders had thought that he would join them at an appropriate time.

The sudden appointment of Mr Dhawan on February 18 not only took the Opposition leaders by surprise but also left them angry, the sources said. It was perceived among Opposition circles that the return of Mr Dhawan would help the Prime Minister immensely in handling party affairs and in tackling political opponents, many of whom were known to the aide from his earlier days in the Prime Minister's office.

The leak of the Thakkar Commission's report, these sources said, was "highly selective." The government was at a disadvantage in this because it could not disclose the full report owing to serious security implications.

They, however, tended to discount suggestions of suspicion about Mr Dhawan's role in the assassination of the former Prime Minister. They pointed out that Mr Dhawan had been working for Mrs Gandhi for 22 years and she was like a mother to him. Besides, what would Mr Dhawan gain by getting involved in any plot; there was no chance that he could himself become the Prime Minister, they added.

The sources said that when he saw the report in this morning's *INDIAN EXPRESS*, Mr Dhawan was stunned. Mr Dhawan personally was not available for comment tonight.

#### **Special Probe Clears Dhawan**

46001380 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
16 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Tushar Bhatt: "Dhawan Was Cleared by Special Probe"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 15—The setting up of Thakkar Commission to go into the circumstances surrounding the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi, was only a pre-investigative exercise and a subsequent probe by a special team had exonerated Mr R.K. Dhawan. Also, he had not been asked to quit the Prime Minister's office by Mr Rajiv Gandhi. He had resigned on his own when it was suggested that he should go on leave pending follow-up investigation by a special team.

It was also not true that Mr Dhawan had fallen from grace in 1982 itself and that Mrs Gandhi had wanted to edge him out.

The clean chit for Mr Dhawan from the special investigation team which was following up the Thakkar Commission's report came before he was reinducted by Mr

Rajiv Gandhi. The team had carried out a thorough inquiry stretching over two-and-a-half years before exonerating Mr Dhawan, reliable sources said today.

The team said that Mr Dhawan was not in any way involved in any crime and conspiracy connected with the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi. The team had confirmed that he was totally innocent.

The sources, commenting on newspaper reports on the Thakkar Commission having pointed "needles of suspicion" at Mr Dhawan, said it had been stipulated in the terms of deference that the Commission's report would be a "a pre-investigative exercise and the government should subsequently get the matter thoroughly investigated". The special investigation team was headed by Mr S. Anandaram.

The inquiries of the investigation team were divided into two phases, one involving those who were directly suspected and the other about those who might have been involved. The investigation against Mr Dhawan had not only been long, it had been gruelling too.

The sources said the special investigation team had been inquiring into some other points mentioned in the Thakkar Commission's report. The Commission's had been a fact-finding assignment and it was not within its terms of reference to scrutinise the various points made before it. In most cases, the Commission recorded those points, underlining the need for further investigations.

The Commission had left for the investigating agencies and the government to scrutinise what it had recorded. While the follow-up inquiries had been instituted, the government had thought it better in the public interest to keep the Thakkar report confidential.

It is also untrue that Mr Dhawan had fallen from grace in the Prime Minister's office as early as in 1982-83. In fact, Mr P.C. Alexander, with the concurrence of other officials, had put up a note to Mrs Gandhi for upgrading the special assistant's post held by Mr Dhawan to that of a joint secretary.

## Papers Report Developments in Defense Ordnance

### New Naval Submarine

46001405 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English  
11 Mar 89 p 5

[Article: "New Naval Sub Arrives"]

[Text] Bombay, March 10—The sixth submarine in the "Sindhughosh" class—INS "Sindhukesari"—sailed into the naval dockyard this morning under the command of Commander S. P. Singh. The vessel was received by Vice-Admiral S. Jain, flag officer commanding-in-chief, Western naval command.

The vessel has a crew of 12 officers and 45 sailors. It was commissioned on December 19 and left Riga port in the USSR on January 19.

The vessel has one of the most modern conventional submarines with diesel electric propulsion. It carries state-of-the-art torpedoes which could sink large ships at stand-off ranges from the submarine.

The first submarine to join the Indian Navy was INSM "Sindhughosh" in 1986. This was followed by "Sindhuhwaj", then "Sindhumaj", "Sindhuv eer" and "Sindhuratna". Two more submarines are to be acquired.

Addressing the gathering, Admiral Jain said the Sindhughosh class of submarines incorporated the latest technology comparing favourably with the modern conventional submarines.

### Air Power Display

46001405 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English  
19 Mar 89 p 7

[Article: "Impressive Air Power Display by IAF"]

[Text] Tilpat (Haryana), March 18 (PTI)—It was all systems go as the Indian Air Force gave a "scintillating" display of its awesome air power here this morning.

The 101-minute show witnessed by the President, Mr R. Venkataraman, the vice-president, Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma and the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and his cabinet colleague, went off with clockwork precision with 127 aircraft displaying their strike capability.

The exercise being held after six years began with a high speed photo run by a Jaguar over the VIP enclosure, while close on its tail a MIG-27 did a supersonic run over the range.

As part of the phase one of the three-phase exercise, there followed a formation flypast and a mock low level attack by four MIG-27s escorted by MIG-23 and intercepted by the air force's latest acquisition "Bazz" or MIG-29.

In a combination of the modern and the old, a HPT 32 basic trainer aircraft, escorted by two Mirage 2000 flew past to depict the low speed handling characteristics of the Mirage.

As the red HPT 32, indigenously developed and produced trainer, parted company with the Mirage, four MIG-23 flying in finger formation looped in with their 23 mm cannon blazing its guns on two SU aircraft and the enemy target was demolished.

With a dozen targets to hit, four Jaguars flying at 900 kmph zoomed in on the target, and flying in pairs with a 40 seconds gap they hit bulls eyes with their 1000lb retarder bomb.

Four MIG 21s also flying in figure four formation low over the target of tanks and armoured personnel carriers peeled off and after climbing to a height of about 1.3 kms, zeroed in on the target in single file. The first was on target, and as the smoke made visibility low, the other three flew past.

As the President succinctly described the show an "impressive display of air power", two pairs of Jaguars with their cluster bombs reduced to smitereens a vehicle concentration, followed by a pair of MIG-27s with 23 mm cannons blazing, smashing a road convoy.

On the tail of the MIG-27s came MIG-23s in two pairs, with their 57 mm rockets in full blaze. It was the fourth MIG-23 which hit the bulls eye as the first three failed to sight the target due to smoke from the earlier bombings. The bombs went off at 11 seconds intervals.

After attacks on an ammunition dump by MIG-23s with 100 kg retarder bombs came four MIG-21s in pairs with their S-24 rockets hitting the targeted bridge in a medium dive attack.

However, the Napalm bomb attack on a low level troop concentration by MIG-21s had to be called off as the earlier attack had led to dense billowing smoke from the earlier targets.

The aircraft which carried out the precision attacks converged on the range from 10 different bases in Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana and Delhi for the show.

The air chief marshal, S. K. Mehra, in his welcome address said that no extra ordnance was expended for the show as routine exercises were rescheduled for the air power demonstration.

Two MI-25 camouflaged choppers glided towards the early warning radar site and after confirming it as "enemy" they zeroed in on the target with their 57 mm rockets blazing away and minutes later only a rubble heap remained.

As the last bomb run of phase two, the President, who is the supreme commander of the armed forces, nominated the attack on troop concentration.

A pair of MIG-27 swooped in on the target, which had been designated for the Napalm bomb attack, with their 57 mm rocket and 30 mm cannon hitting the bulls eye.

The target was a bridge in phase three of the show. None MI-17 choppers dropped troops in the battle zone followed by a MI-26, which dropped a 13-tonne heavy artillery gun slung under it.

The troops took up positions and cleared the area of "enemy" and with the sappers doing the needful, the bridge was blown.

They came in pairs the AN-32s and the paratroopers dotted the sky as all eyes turned upwards to see the battalion of troops landing on target in the dropping zone (DZ).

Preceding the 36 AN-32s were three IL-76 transport aircraft off loading their paratroopers over the DZ.

Displaying low level aerobatics, a MIG-29, "Baaz" performed a solo low flying show which drew repeated rounds of applause from the large audience.

Then came the finale with nine hunter thunderbolts putting on a thrilling display of aerobatics which was the *piece de resistance* of the show.

The Prime Minister who witnessed the spectacular air-show, praised the "Akash Ganga" skydiving team for their super performance.

Mr Gandhi told the skydivers that he had enjoyed the show which was "very good".

The skydivers had earlier performed at the Nehru centenary run and also at the Salt Lake stadium in Calcutta.

A photograph of the VIP enclosure, taken by a Jaguar fighter bomber was processed with supersonic speed and shown to the President even before the show ended.

It took just an hour and 25 minutes for the Indian Air Force to process the detailed picture of the VIP enclosure taken by a high-resolution camera fitted at the nose of the aircraft.

## **Papers Report Developments in Defense Production**

**Indigenous Light Combat Aircraft**  
46001404 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
20 Mar 89 p 5

[Article by K. K. Sharma: "LCA for IAF by 1990"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 19—India has decided to go ahead with its ambitious plans to develop and manufacture its own "light combat aircraft" (LCA) and attempts are to be made to bring this into service with the Air Force from 1995. At the same time, it has decided to develop a second generation aircraft to succeed the first series when this becomes obsolete.

Plans to develop the aircraft, which will be the mainstay of the Indian Air Force, have been considerably delayed because of problems encountered in designing it as well as evolving an indigenous engine to power it. The aircraft is being developed by a special cell at the government-owned Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. in Bangalore.

Doubts about the future of the project arose not only because of the delays and the high costs involved but also because of a highly attractive offer made by the Soviet Union to "cheaply" upgrade the Indian Air Force's present fleet of MiG-21s by incorporating into them a number of improvements.

The renovation would make the MiG-21s, facilities for the manufacture of which already exist in India, as effective as the latest of the MiG series. The MiG-21 fleet is now obsolete and is being phased out. In addition to the Mirage 2000 bought by India from France, the Air Force is being modernised by importing the latest MiGs from the Soviet Union, including the MiG-29.

Since the MiG-29 is expensive, the offer to modernise the MiG-21 is tempting, particularly because of the need to cut defence expenditure and reduce the strain on the balance of payments. A decision on the Soviet offer is expected to be taken soon.

It was thought that acceptance of the Soviet offer would make redundant plans for India's own "light combat aircraft". But the Air Force has decided to go ahead whatever the decision is on the future of the MiG-21 fleet.

For the present, the prototype of the LCA will be powered by General Electric engines imported from the United States, about a dozen of which have already arrived. While the frame of the aircraft will be tested by using these engines, an indigenous gas turbine engine is to be developed in the Bangalore complex to power the fleet.

Plans are also being made to use the existing MiG-21 plants operated by Hindustan Aeronautics, to make the MiG-29 and the agreement for the necessary transfer of technology has already been reached with the Soviets.

(Economic News Service)

### **Parallel Computing System**

46001404 Madras THE HINDU in English  
20 Mar 89 p 7

[Article: "DRDO To Develop Parallel Computers"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 19—The Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) has launched a three-year project to design and build a parallel computing system, called PACE, to meet the specialised computer requirements of defence research.

The unit created within the DRDO to handle various computer oriented projects is the Advance Numerical Research and Analysis Group (ANURAG), located at Hyderabad, and the PACE parallel computer too will be executed by the group. The parallel computer project took off in August 1988.

According to the head of the group, Dr. G. Venkataraman, one of the computationally intensive problems that PACE is aimed to solve is the Computational Fluid Dynamics (CFD) calculation for the Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) design.

**Important feature:** An important feature of the project, unlike other similar projects where R&D groups do the initial design and prototype development and then transfer the know-how to the industry for quantity production, is that the commercial industrial agency is a partner in the project from day one, Dr. Venkataraman said. The Electronics Corporation of India Ltd. (ECIL) has been identified for this.

Parallel computers are application specific high speed computing systems that employ a large number of off-the-shelf microprocessors suitably linked to achieve the designed speed-up. Unlike supercomputers of the CRAY type, parallel computers do not use high-speed customised chips. They can be designed around an array of readily available processor chips like INTEL 80386 or MOTOROLA 68020.

The architecture, or the organisation of the processors in the system for PACE is based on the so-called Hypercube, or the Binary cube, concept which was developed by CALTECH and commercialised by companies like INTEL and N-CUBE corporations.

At the end of the three-year period, the project PACE plans to come out with a prototype of a 128 processing element (PE) system, which, in the Binary Cube architecture terminology, will be called a 7-cube system. The Pilot Test Vehicle (PTV) which Dr. Venkataraman hopes to put to stringent tests within a few months time, will be a four-node system. And this will be replicated to build the full 128-node parallel computer.

**Choice of ECIL:** One of the reasons for the choice of the ECIL as the industrial partner is that the company is already producing single board computers based on the MOTOROLA 68020 chip. PACE will, therefore, use the ECIL board straightaway and thus save time. However, the design of PACE envisages a 'floating point coprocessor (FPC)' to be linked to the PE and ECIL will be modifying their board to permit attachment of the an FPC, Dr. Venkataraman said.

The other architectural specifications of PACE are as follows: The envisaged processing speed of each node is 1.5 million floating point operations per seconds (MFLOPS) and the overall speed will be greater than 100 MFLOPS. Without the FPC, however, the speed is expected to come down by about a factor of 15. The coprocessor that will be used for the 4-node PTV will be based on the WEITEK 1164/65 chip.



**Indigenous fabrication:** After the PTV becomes a proven design, the plan originally had been to fabricate a coprocessor chip set indigenously, using the design and fabrication capabilities of the Semiconductor Complex Ltd. (SCL), to be incorporated into the final 128-node system. The burning down of the SCL's fabrication on February 7 is, however, a setback to this idea.

According to Dr. Venkataraman, the logic simulator for the chip design had already been worked out. This association would, have, it seems, also resulted in a LSI/VLSI design cell being established at ANURAG with SCL's help. Now the use of WEITEK chips for all the PEs appears inevitable.

Dr. Venkataraman also hopes to get the Indian scientific community outside the DRDO interested in PACE and has been campaigning to induce physicists to develop parallel computing programmes, for problems of their specific interests, so that they can be ported onto the prototype for testing by about 1991 or so. He has also offered time on the 4-node PTV to facilitate the process of developing these programmes.

Though there is a large physics community, apparently interested in a variety of problems that require heavy number crunching and, in principle, there should be a lot of interest in a project like PACE, Dr. Venkataraman is yet to receive a matching response and support to such indigenous developmental efforts from potential users that he had anticipated. He is, however, hopeful that this situation will change and commitment on the part of the scientific community at large will be forthcoming soon.

#### **Cell for Defense Exports**

46001404 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
8 Mar 89 p 5

[Article: "Special Cell for Defence Exports"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 7—The government is keen to step up exports of defence products and a special cell to promote and coordinate export of these items would soon be set up, the Union defence minister, Mr K. C. Pant, informed the Rajya Sabha today.

In reply to the main question by Mr P. Upendra (TDP), Mr Pant said three defence public sector undertakings had already exceeded their export targets for the years 1987-88 and 1988-89. These were the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL), Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL) and Bharat Earth Movers Limited (BEML).

Though Mr Pant did not have details of the items exported, he said HAL exported aircraft and helicopter components, BEL exported electronic items and the BEML dumpers and earthmovers. Besides, several other items including high resistant alloys were being exported by India.

However, in response to certain observations made by Mr Gurupadaswamy (Janata), the defence minister admitted that defence exports had not been given the emphasis that it deserved. Though an export promotion cell had been set up in 1973 and interministerial team also formed, all these efforts had "petered out."

Pointing out that defence exports would help utilise excess capacity in the defence production undertakings and thus reduce costs of Indian armaments, Mr Pant said the government would now explore the possibilities of a "buy back" scheme and joint collaboration for exports to third countries in order to boost India's trade in defence items.

He also noted that apart from hardware, India was in a position to sell software and BEL was exporting sophisticated electronic equipment to many advanced nations, including the United Kingdom, Germany and Switzerland.

In reply to a question by Mr Jaswant Singh (BJP) [Bharatiya Janata Party], Mr Pant admitted that India had not conducted any detailed market survey to gauge the export potential for Indian items. He assured him that "once our attitude becomes more export oriented, we will be alert to the possibility of export promotion," in this area. He did not agree to Mr Singh's suggestion that the State Trading Corporation should handle defence exports also and felt that a special cell was necessary.

Mr Sukomal Sen (CPM) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] was the only member who was critical of the government's enthusiasm for exports and felt India should concentrate on research and development in order to be self reliant in defence. Mr Pant asserted that promoting exports and building self reliance were not contradictory, but in fact complemented each other. If India was able to produce better weapons, it would increase the marketability of the weapons abroad, he noted.

In reply to Dr Subramanian Swamy, Mr Pant said the government had a list of countries to which exports were allowed. The list was prepared by the ministry of external affairs. Dr Swamy also urged the minister to declare that once the special cell was set up, it would not pay commissions or employ middlemen to get contracts abroad. Mr Pant, however, refused to give any such assurance.

#### **Book Critical of Narmada Dam Project Seized**

46001395 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
14 Mar 89 p 15

[Article by Usha Rai: "Books Damning Narmada Dam Seized"]

[Text] THE TIMES OF INDIA NEWS SERVICE—New Delhi, March 13—Five hundred copies of the book,

"Damning the Narmada, India's greatest planned disaster", by Claude Alvarez and Ramesh Billorey, have been held by the customs at the foreign post office as being "anti-government", according to the distributors of the book.

Natraj Publishers, the distributors, maintain that the books have been lying at the post office for a month now. Mr Inder Raj Soni, collector, however, has said the books had been held up for scrutiny under the customs regulations. He said the books had arrived in India just a week ago.

The book has been published by a Malaysia-based third world network in collaboration with the Asia-Pacific people's network.

It goes into various aspects of the controversial Narmada valley project such as the number of people to be displaced and their rehabilitation prospects, the loss of flora and fauna, the seismicity in the Narmada basin, the high rate of siltation of dams in India, the actual power to be generated and land to be irrigated based on this, the writers plead for cancellation of the project.

"We have made a study of the two major dams proposed on the Narmada—the Sardar Sarovar and the Narmada Sagar—and of the Narmada valley project as a whole. Privileged with access to official documents, we have made a detailed assessment of the dam's impact, and report on the large-scale manipulation and fraud that enabled officials to pass the project through the planning commission and the cabinet," says the book.

Opposition to the dam has to be intensified or the world's largest planned, environmental and human tragedy will commence, the writers warn.

The cost-benefit ratio has been discussed with interviews with Mr S. C. Varma, former chairman of the Narmada Valley Development Authority (NVDA) who resigned the post, and Dr S. R. Pant, economic evaluation officer of the NVDA in 1987.

Of interest to those who have been following the debate between the government and the environmentalists is the appended list of those who are opposing the project.

Quoting Mr Varma from the book "Human resettlement in lower Narmada basin," the report points out that there is no land available for following a "land-for-land" policy for resettling oustees. Consequently, the three lakh oustees must fend for themselves. Quoting a study by the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, on the Narmada Sagar project it is pointed out that as much as 40 per cent of the Narmada Sagar command area is likely to get waterlogged.

"Water availability in the Narmada is only 23 million acre feet (MAF) and not 27.2 MAF as assumed earlier by the tribunal," says a study by the Indian Institute of

Management, Bangalore, quoting the National Commission on Agriculture report. It is pointed out that the "annual siltation rate of the Narmada is 5.62 hectometres per 100 sq km, and not 1.55 hectometres as assumed earlier. A status report on the Sardar Sarovar says, "large areas in the command of the Narmada Sagar will be flooded by the backwaters of the Sardar Sarovar reservoir, affecting more villages and population in Madhya Pradesh.

"Wildlife will not be able to relocate itself as there is no forest adjoining those coming under submergence. There is also a serious threat to some rare flora and fauna in the forest areas to be submerged by both the Narmada Sagar and Sardar Sarovar," it says.

The fourth meeting of the dam review panel of the project also noted that "an earthquake of magnitude 6.5 could occur due to the impoundment of the Narmada Sagar and Sardar Sarovar reservoirs."

A note of the department of environment and forests on the project also points out that "reducing the height of both dams would save a considerable area of forest and agricultural land and also spare a large number of people the agony of displacement. This can be done without any reduction to the irrigation potential."

Pointing out that the project may eventually produce just 240 mw, and that Narmada Sagar would submerge nearly as much land as it would irrigate, the authors plead for alternatives.

Reduction of the dam height from 860 feet to 814 feet is expected to reduce the displaced population to 20,000, and save thousands of hectares of forests and agricultural land. Even the probability of earthquake will be reduced, according to the National Geographical Research Institute.

Lift irrigation and canal irrigation have been suggested as alternatives. These methods are expected to reduce the cost of irrigation. Another suggested is small-scale, single-purpose reservoirs connected to form a single large network.

The beneficiaries of such small projects are normally the people whose lands have been submerged. The few families displaced can also be absorbed in the same village. Such alternatives are not accepted by the Indian political system because they call for decentralised management and people's participation, allege the authors.

#### **Commentary Sees VP Singh and Devi Lal as Competitors**

46240035 Calcutta RAVI VAR in Hindi  
25 Feb 89 pp 62-64

[Article by Rajesh Rapariya: "Now the Fight Is Between VP Singh and Devi Lal"]

[Text] "Make me prime minister for once and then watch me".

This appeal of Haryana Chief Minister Devi Lal in a public meeting in Rohtak in the first week of February was neither fortuitous, nor was it one of those off the cuff statements which have become a hall mark in this new dawn of the opposition. This is the same Devi Lal who, till recently, had no doubts about the next prime minister. He went about announcing that there is no controversy regarding leadership of the opposition: It has been settled that Vishavnath Pratap Singh will be the next prime minister. He kept repeating this pronouncement for several months. Then he suddenly changed his tune. He began saying that it will be for the elected representatives of the Janata Dal to decide who will occupy the prime minister's chair. Later he began stating that the next prime minister of the country will be a farmer's son. The Rohtak appeal was the natural culmination of this process.

Vishwanath Pratap Singh may well have been announcing that he will not accept any office or that his becoming prime minister will be fraught with dangers for the country, but it was taken for granted that being chairman of the Janata Dal, he was the natural candidate for this office. On the other hand, Devi Lal's loud pronouncements were indicative of VP Singh's disguised ambition since VP Singh had never contradicted any statements of this nature. But it was apparent that soon Devi Lal will get the feeling that if he can be the king-maker, why shouldn't he be the king. Following this there was a sudden rise in Devi Lal's activities outside Haryana. He began using the state government's plane as a routine transport to address rallies and public meetings in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. On the other hand, he began efforts to take control of the authority to distribute the Janata Dal's (election) tickets. Member of Parliament Sharad Yadav is the chief driving force behind this new campaign of Devi Lal. It is Sharad Yadav on whose account there developed a rift between Devi Lal and Hemwatinandan Bahuguna. Not only is Sharad Yadav by Devi Lal's side during most of his tours but he is the only leader who is depicted with Devi Lal in posters.

Just as there developed a rift between Devi Lal and Bahuguna, in the same manner, are Devi Lal and VP Singh also now parting company? Consider this incident. Date: Feb 5. Time: 12 o'clock noon. Place: The Janata Dal's central office 7 Jantar Mantar. VP Singh, Ajit Singh, Ramvilas Paswan and other leaders are ready to leave for Dadri (Uttar Pradesh) near Delhi to attend the National Farmers Gujar Conference. In one van are seated VP Singh, Ajit Singh and other leaders and in the other van were Ramvilas Paswan, Rampujan Patel etc. The decision had been made to go to the Haryana Bhavan to meet Devi Lal who had decided not to go to Dadri. But VP Singh's caravan, instead of going to the Haryana Bhavan, went straight to Dadri and Devi Lal returned to Haryana to look after his health. This was nothing if not the sparks of the growing friction between VP Singh and Devi Lal. [passage omitted]

There was deep understanding between VP Singh and Devi Lal right up to the organization of the Janata Dal Parliamentary Board. Both were working as members of

the mutual appreciation society [praised each other]. But now each of them speak different languages. Formerly Devi Lal was never tired or reiterating that the opposition cannot achieve unity because it cannot decide on the prime minister. Those were the days when he used to say unequivocally that VP Singh will be the prime minister. But Devi Lal made it clear in Chandigarh on Feb 4 that the Parliamentary Board will name the prime minister. It was clear from this statement of his that now the decisive fight will be between VP Singh and Devi Lal and this will determine the future of the Janata Dal.

In the end, Devi Lal may or may not offer himself as a claimant for the prime ministership but he no longer has the same regard for VP Singh that he once had. On several issues supporters of Devi Lal and VP Singh have faced a stand off. Devi Lal's critics maintain that Devi Lal is working on a well thought out plan. On the other hand, in view of Devi Lal's changed attitude, VP Singh is also busy forging new political affiliations.

The quarrel between VP Singh and Devi Lal started on the issue of the Janata Dal units and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. Prior to this, until the organization of the National Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board, both worked in harmony to weaken power of leaders of other factions in the Janata Dal. In connection with the state units of the Janata Dal, the supporters of Devi Lal suggested that to organize state units, a committee should be formed and that it should consist of 5-6 members. This is precisely what Devi Lal's supporters were telling everybody in the last meeting of the Parliamentary Board. But this proposal was not accepted and in many states, names of party chairmen were announced. There were furious altercations between supporters of Devi Lal and VP Singh over the position of the Madhya Pradesh chairman. Devi Lal wanted to make Raghu Thakur the chairman, but VP Singh's supporters preferred Vidhyacharan Shukla. Regarding Vidhyacharan Shukla's nomination, Devi Lal reportedly said, who is VC Shukla? Who knows him in Madhya Pradesh? He remains in Delhi all the time. Raghu Thakur arranged 46 meetings for me there. He works in Madhya Pradesh. He should be the chairman. But Devi Lal did not have his way. Biju Patnaik, Ajit Singh and Arun Nehru and others gave unstinted support to Vidhyacharan Shukla.

Regarding the chairman of Uttar Pradesh's Janata Dal also there are bitter differences between Devi Lal and VP Singh. Devi Lal wants to make Mulayam Singh Yadav the chairman but Ajit Singh and VP Singh are not in favor. Ajit Singh favors Ramnaresh Yadav, Rajinder Singh, Satpal Singh Yadav or a Muslim for the chairman. It is noteworthy that most of Lok Dal (A)'s legislators are from Uttar Pradesh and its political future is also at stake. VP Singh's strategy is that a weak man should become chairman of Uttar Pradesh's Janata Dal so that VP Singh may continue to have control over the Uttar Pradesh unit and there may not be any problems at the time of selection of the prime minister. But Mulayam Singh commands his own powerful base in Uttar

Pradesh and he is more popular than any other opposition leader of the state. It is being said about him here that if he is not made the chairman, he will quit the party. In the event of Mulayam Singh becoming the state chairman, the biggest plus point for Devi Lal is that Mulayam Singh is not in the Delhi race and the positions of Ajit Singh and Vp Singh at the state level will naturally get weakened. Another major confrontation between VP Singh and Devi Lal developed on account of the BJP. VP Singh had given Devi Lal the responsibility for talks with the BJP concerning coordination of seats in the election. In this regard, Devi Lal also wrote letters to the BJP Chairman Lalkrishnan Advani. But a consensus is emerging in the Janata Dal that the question of coordination with BJP should be left to the state units. When VP Singh was pointedly asked what was the Janata Dal's position on coordination with the BJP, he replied, let elections come, then we'll see. It is reported that Devi Lal was deeply mortified by this. He had taken the initiative in this matter at the bidding of VP Singh. Devi Lal acknowledges that when there is to be a coordination with the BJP concerning seats, where is the harm in admitting it. According to a responsible politician, Devi Lal regards this as political trickery.

Ajit Singh is also one cause of confrontation between VP Singh and Devi Lal because he has an old feud with Devi Lal. Devi Lal defeated Ajit Singh during formation of the National Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board and many of his heavy weights were left out in the cold. His condition now is like that of a wounded snake: He is always on the look out for an opportunity to hurt Devi Lal. These days he has become a lackey of VP Singh. It is he who has started insinuating to VP Singh that Devi Lal may, at any time, declare himself a claimant for the prime ministership. Ajit Singh's words have received confirmation from Devi Lal's press conference in Chandigarh on Feb 4, where he made it clear that the nomination of the prime minister will be decided by the Parliamentary Board. This was the first time that Devi Lal ruled out VP Singh's name for the opposition's prime minister and clearly indicated that if occasion arose, VP Singh will not be selected unanimously.

Devi Lal's changed attitude has affected all his supporters based in Delhi and they no longer see VP Singh as a vote catching machine. Earlier these very supporters of Devi Lal used to say, why shouldn't VP Singh be made the Party Chairman and Prime Minister: After all, he is the one who can get votes for the opposition. In fact from the kind of allegations Devi Lal made against Bahuguna and Chandershekhar in 1987 and the manner in which he violated all political norms, it appeared that he had set his sights on the prime minister's chair. VP Singh was unconcerned because it was Devi Lal who was throwing his name around. But both of these leaders are very ambitious and ultimately a show down between the two was only natural. Whether in this fight, the Janata Dal survives intact or whether it disintegrates into the Janata Dal (A), (B) and (C) depends on whether or not it is a fight to the finish.

## IRAN

### Official Discusses Kurdistan, Bakhtaran Reconstruction Plans

46000133a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 13 Apr 89 p 2

[Text] Yasuj, Kohkiluyeh-Buyer Ahmad Prov. April 12 (IRNA)—War-stricken residential areas of the western city of Marivan, Kurdistan Province will be rebuilt by the Provincial Housing Foundation here an official said Tuesday.

He said reconstruction operations for 698 urban and rural houses and shops have already started, of which 160 residential and trade units are to be built in marivan and the rest in 40 nearby villages.

Meanwhile, reconstruction of the towns of Gilan-e-Gharb and Sar-pol-e-Zahab, Bakhtaran Province, will begin next week following the preparation of a comprehensive map for these towns.

Bakhtaran governor-general, Ali Nekooi said Tuesday that residents of these towns and villages will return to their homes by the end of the current Iranian year (March 20, 1990).

On reconstruction of the border towns of Qasr-e-Shirin and Nowsud, Nekooi said Qasr-e-Shirin's municipality has already resumed work and general reconstruction of the town will begin once related projects are approved by the High Council of Reconstruction.

"So far 26,000 houses and shops have been rebuilt in Bakhtaran and Islamabad-e-Gharb, and the remaining units will be completed during the following months," he said.

In related news Gilan-e-Gharb governorate was reopened Tuesday as the first phase of the reconstruction of the war-ravaged town.

### Construction of New Town Planned

46000133B Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 15 Apr 89 p 2

[Text] Kerman, April 14 (IRNA)—Work on a new satellite town near this southeastern city will start this fall, said an official of the Provincial Housing and Urban Development Department Thursday.

The new town is to be built on a 4,000-hectare area and is designed to accommodate a 100,000 people.

The official added that license permits will be issued to those interested in setting up copper industries, related industries, power plants and vegetable shortening factories in the satellite town.



## PAKISTAN

### Government Said To Appoint Qadianis to Important Positions

46560025b Lahore SIYASI LOG in Urdu 21 Feb 89 p 1

[Report: "Another Qadiani Appointed to a Key Position"]

[Text] The People's Party government has started favoring the Qadianis openly now. After the appointment of Kanwar Idrees, Naseem Ahmed is now being appointed to an important foreign post. Prime minister Benazir Bhutto has assured the Qadianis that she will protect their rights and interest and that she will not bow to any public pressure in this respect. Prime minister Benazir Bhutto's discussion with the U.S. statesman Stephen Solarz during his recent visit to Islamabad included the Qadiani issue. Stephen Solarz expressed concern over the alleged violation of human rights of the Qadianis. He told the prime minister that she would have to act swiftly and restore the human rights of the Qadianis and rehabilitate them once more to important positions in the Pakistani society. The prime minister agreed with him, and, on the day following her talks, Kanwar Idrees's appointment took effect. Naseem Ahmed is now being appointed to an important foreign post. In the meantime the Tahrik-e Tahaffuz Khatm-e Nabawwat ["Movement for the Preservation of the Finality of Prophethood"] has announced that it would form a front against the prime

minister's pro-Qadiani policy. The prime minister's advisor on religious affairs, Siraj Ahmed Dinpuri, has also expressed concern over the Qadiani question. Replying to correspondents' questions in Islamabad, he said that he did not have any connection with the issue and the significance it had (for the government). He said further that the Ministry of Religious Affairs was receiving complaints from the general Muslim public about the appointment of Qadianis to administrative posts, and that all the complaints were being forwarded to the prime minister every day and she was being asked to take immediate steps in this regard. Meanwhile, a massive demonstration was held in Hyderabad under the auspices of Tahrik-e Tahaffuz Khatm-e Nabawwat to protest the appointment of Kanwar Idrees to the post of chief secretary of Sind. This meeting was also addressed by Maulana Ahmed Mian Hamidi, central leader of the Tahrik, Maulana Nazeer Ahmed, leader of Jamaat-e Islami's Hyderabad Division, Mr Abdul Waheed Qureshi, former member of Sind Assembly, and Maulana Saifurrahman Arain, provincial general secretary of Jamiatul Ulma-e Islam (Darkhwasti Group) as well as other religious scholars. The demonstrators were carrying large banners. Besides Hyderabad, demonstrations were also being held in other cities to protest the appointment of the Qadianis. If the prime minister does not change her attitude, it will become necessary to start a country-wide agitation on the Qadiani issue and the religious leaders are prepared for it.

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